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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

In Murder Aftermath Military Rewards Settlers, Dismisses Hebron Council

Acting-mayor of Hebron Mustafa Natshe and the rest of the city council were removed from office, July 7, by the commander of the central region Uri Orr, after orders from Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens.

The council was sacked after Kiryat Arba settler Aharon Gross was stabbed to death near the city market. Mystery still surrounds the exact circumstances of his demise. In the aftermath of the killing and dismissal, the city was curfewed, settlers set fire to the market area and the Israeli cabinet announced plans to expand Jewish settlement in the city centre.

(Details of Israeli settlement policy, page 3)

Natshe and councillors were driven to military headquarters in Hebron at midnight. No transport was provided for their journey home.

Announcing the firing of Natshe and the council elected in the 1976 polls, an Israeli spokesman said they had abetted violence in word and deed, boycotted the 'civil administration' and committed 'illegalities and irregularities' in their administration of the town. Head of the 'civil administration' Shlomo Elia told foreign newsmen, July 8, that Natshe has refused to give municipal services to settlers, produced anti-Israeli and anti-army publications and brought 'enemy funds' into the city. In a special Hebrew-only press bulletin, Elia accused Natshe of "petitioning the High Court... and accusing the 'civil administration' of abetting the illegal demolition and construction of buildings by the settlers in the heart of the Hebron market..." Foreign reporters were not given this handout.



Occupied Hebron municipality, July 9/JN

Natshe denied charges of

boycotting settlers and Elia's offices. He said that Palestinian garbage collectors had been prevented from entering settlers' buildings to collect rubbish.

Israel has appointed head of the local absentee property

office, Shemesh Zamir, to replace Natshe. He is expected to rescind the appeal to the High Court which is preventing settler construction in the heart of the city.

Circumstances surrounding the death of Gross are something of a mystery. Israeli reports say he was standing in central Hebron waiting to take a bus of kindergarten children back to Kiryat Arba when he was stabbed by three or four assailants. During the assault several rounds from Gross's submachine gun were fired, but whether by him or his attackers is unclear. He was left bleeding on the street until a Palestinian, Aziz Abu Snehineh, took him to Alia hospital in Hebron. Gross was pronounced dead on arrival.

Military reports say soldiers were on the scene within minutes of the shooting and accuse settlers of neglecting to look after the dying man in their rush to get after the supposed killers. Three settlers stopped a van near the scene and abandoned a child as they chased the fleeing assailants. One soldier told Yediot Ahranot that Miriam Levinger, wife of Gush Emunim leader Moshe and a trained nurse, turned away from Gross when she was told he was an Arab.

Settlers countercharge that soldiers were not on the scene for 20 minutes, that they did nothing to help Gross because they thought he was an Arab and that a Palestinian physician at Alia let the youth die because

he was a Jew. Military doctors corroborated the Arab doctor's attempts to save Gross and confirmed the time of death.

Gross' family protested political interference by cabinet minister Yuval Ne'eman of the Feliya Party. Ne'eman said at the funeral that Gross had been an 'anti-withdrawal from the Sinai' activist. His family denies this and reports that he supported the Gush Emunim. They say he was at a central Hebron yeshiva (religious school) because he knew the rabbis.

Israeli troops flooded down-



Mustafa Natshe

town Hebron and enforced a curfew immediately after the stabbing. With residents inside their homes, soldiers stood back

continued on page 4

INJURIES, ARRESTS AT AL AQSA

Seven Palestinians were hospitalised with moderate injuries, scores suffered from gas inhalation and 43 were arrested at al-Aqsa Mosque, July 8, as Israeli forces broke into crowds of peacefully demonstrating worshippers.

Al Shaab daily reported that the demonstrators raised photos of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and chanted slogans in his support and in protest at the interference of Arab regimes in internal Palestinian affairs. Palestinian flags were also raised.

Al Quds daily reported that

tens of thousands of Muslim believers had arrived in Jerusalem from villages and cities in the West Bank, Gaza and the Galilee to celebrate what is called "Orphan Friday," the last Friday in the holy month of Ramadan. Israeli authorities had turned back a large number of buses and taxis carrying worshippers from Nablus, Jenin and Tulkarm.

Shortly after the noon prayer at al-Aqsa, an impromptu demonstration broke out in support of the Palestinian leadership. Military personnel and Israeli police quickly interfered using live ammunition and firing tear

gas into the crowds.

Israel Television reported that the demonstrators, who were also denouncing the Israeli occupation, numbered tens of thousands. The television reporter also noted that women and children were screaming in fear after the Israeli soldiers opened fire.

The following day, July 9, the head of the Supreme Islamic Council, Sheikh Saad al-Din al-Alami, sent a telegramme of protest to Israeli Prime Minister Begin in which he complained that the "provocations, the shooting and the tear gas against

Muslims inside the al-Aqsa yard is a matter contrary to all religions." Al-Alami strongly criticised the attack, which he said was "against the holy al-Aqsa

Mosque and the Muslim worshippers." He demanded an investigation into responsibility for ordering the shooting and the tear gas, and punishment for the guilty. (Translations)

IN THIS ISSUE

High Court decision on Ansar	p.2
Those 'Brotherly' Arab Governments	p.3
Peace for Peace	p.6
Islamic graves destroyed in Ramle	p.7
The Mosad-Phalange connection	pp.8-9
Banned Books	p.10
A review of <i>Ali the Galilean</i>	p.11
Colonial Law	p.16

Court Applies Geneva Conventions to Ansar

The Israeli High Court issued a decision, July 13, which will permit Israeli lawyers to visit detainees in Ansar camp in South Lebanon.

The court, answering a show-cause order by lawyers Lea Tsemel, Walid Fahoum, Mohammad Na'ameh and Felicia Langer on why they should not be allowed to see their several hundred clients in the camp, said they could go there "subject to security arrangements."

The court ruled that the III and IV Geneva Conventions apply to the prisoners. The legal team, who have been trying for months to see the detainees for whom they have powers of attorney, say they are applying for immediate access to their clients. They also want families to be allowed in for visits, as specified

in the Geneva Conventions.

Israeli defence ministry lawyers had argued that people held in Ansar, called the 'brought in' in Israeli legal terminology, were detained under an act-of-state and thus could not claim any legal representation. The military introduced a committee to review detention every six months after the start of the lawyers' appeal, last autumn.

Over five thousand Palestinians and Lebanese are currently held in Ansar prison camp. Exact figures have never been given out by the Israeli government and arrests and releases continue. The decision to apply the Geneva Conventions is unique in Israeli legal history. Israel has always claimed it is not the 'belligerent occupier' of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights or South Lebanon and

thus international conventions are not applicable.

As well as guaranteeing access to lawyers, the conventions allow visits by relatives, specify the type of person who can be detained, set minimum standards for care and facilities, and guarantee human rights.

A legal-team member described the decision as 'half-good' and said they would carefully observe how it was implemented. Since Ansar prison camp was established last summer only the International Red Cross, which does not release statements about conditions, and a French medical group sympathetic to Israel have been inside the camp. There have been reports from South Lebanon recently of mysterious deaths, massive destruction of facilities and break-outs from the camp.

ISRAELI SOLIDARITY GROUP VISITS NATSHE, DHEISHEH CAMP



Seventy members of the Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University (CSBZU) held two protests outside the curfewed city of Hebron and Dheisheh refugee camp, July 9, to support the Palestinian residents who are "increasingly falling under Israeli harassment."

The main body of demonstrators were refused access to both places, but their protests went off without any clashes. A smaller group managed to get into the city and meet with dismissed acting-mayor Mustafa Natshe. One Palestinian demonstrator was arrested briefly, but released after representations to the authorities.

Before they set out from

Jerusalem, CSBZU learned that the military authorities had prepared road blocks to stop their action. Dozens of Israeli soldiers had closed off the Hebron-Bethlehem road near Dheisheh camp that morning and declared the camp under curfew. The demonstrators swapped a Beit Jala bus they had hired for one owned by a tour company and made it through the road blocks.

They were stopped, however, near Hahul, two kilometres north of Hebron at a checkpoint manned by soldiers and people in civilian dress. CSBZU believe they were Shin Beth (secret police) officers. The mixed civilian-military unit also stopped cars carrying suspected demonstrat-

ors. Former Israeli general Matanyahu Peled was held up there and held an impromptu press conference for journalists covering the protest.

Unable to get further, the main group demonstrated near the roadblock. They unfolded previously prepared Hebrew placards, some of which read: "Dismantle Kiryat Arba," "Down with the settlements," and "Self-determination for the Palestinian people." They handed out leaflets to cars travelling on the nearby highway.

Meanwhile, a group travelling by car got into Hebron and went to see Natshe. A spokesperson for this group told *Al Fair* that the acting mayor described events leading up to his and the Hebron council's dismissal. "He clearly described the mounting harassment by the military authorities," she said. Natshe agreed to cooperate with CSBZU in future protest activities.

After 20 minutes, the group returned to Dheisheh where they handed out more

IN LEBANON

TWO KILLED AS ISRAEL PREPARES TO PULL BACK

Spurred on by increased Israeli casualties in Lebanon, Israeli military leaders are speeding up plans for a partial pullback from Lebanon. Two Israeli officers were killed and 16 others wounded in the largest attack, July 11, near Hasbaya.

Actual pullback of Israeli troops began July 13, when large numbers of Israeli armoured vehicles moved south. Reuters news agency, quoting local eyewitnesses, said that 25 armoured personnel carriers, 50 armoured vehicles and 100 trucks waited at an Israeli-built airfield near the town of Damour.

Israeli chief-of-staff Moshe Levy confirmed, in an interview with Israel TV, July 13, that Israeli troop withdrawal is planned to the Awali River, north of Sidon. The Israeli army chief described the withdrawal as being in line with the agreement arranged with the Gemayel regime. The interview came two days after resistance fighters caused 18 Israeli casualties among troops.

The operation, which apparently shocked the Israeli military establishment, took place near Hasbaya in the eastern section of south Lebanon. News reports said 70 kilograms of explosive material, planted on a road near the village of Mimmas, was detonated as a five-vehicle convoy passed by on the road. Eyewitness accounts of the explosion say that the remote-controlled device was detonated just as the largest truck, carrying 20 soldiers returning from leave, crossed over the mine. The heavy vehicle was blown 20 metres off the road, and burst into flames. The soldiers in the other vehicles opened fire in all directions, as troop reinforcements were summoned.

handbills addressed to the camp residents. Their statement condemned the recent sealing off of the camp's last main entrance, the closure of Dheisheh's only youth club and other practices, including the house arrest order against a local journalist, Hamdi Farraj. "We reject, as you do, the plans being drawn by some Israeli government circles to 'settle' the refugees, for we consider it a further attempt to uproot the Palestinians from their land, through ignoring the political problem," the CSBZU leaflet stated. They also called for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, alongside Israel, which is to be led by the PLO.

During the protest, soldiers detained a Palestinian resident from the Galilee, known as Yusef. The CSBZU activists refused to leave until the soldiers released him. They agreed, on condition that the demonstration be suspended.

By the time the smaller group which had entered Hebron

Later, hundreds of soldiers placed three villages in the vicinity of the explosion under curfew and soldiers, assisted by Saad Haddad militiamen, carried out house-to-house searches. A large number of residents were arrested, suspected of assisting commandos. Moreover, Israeli troops started cutting down citrus groves near the attack site. The curfew on two of the villages, Mimmas and Biltzaye, remained in force for three days.

During the past week, there were at least five additional operations against occupation troops. Israeli military spokesmen, while acknowledging that the attacks took place, claimed there were no casualties. July 10, a 10-kilogram explosive device went off near the village of Tabnit, as an Israeli vehicle passed nearby. On July 11, an explosion occurred near Nabatiyah, timed with the passage of a military patrol.

Fighters from the Lebanese National Resistance Front fired a shoulder-held rocket towards a Hercules transport plane as it was taking off from the Damour airfield. Israeli officers in Lebanon said that if the rocket had hit its target, there would have been a disaster.

On July 12, Israeli military sources said that several Katyusha rockets aimed at Israeli positions fell near Tyre. The source said that the rockets missed their target.

In another incident on the same day, a remote-controlled explosive device was detonated near the entrance to Aley. An Israeli military spokesman said that there were no Israeli troops around.

returned to Dheisheh, the army was diverting all civilian traffic around the camp.

One of the participants in the demonstration noted that she was able to compare the soldiers' treatment of Israelis and Palestinians. She said that one could see the gaze the soldiers gave to Palestinian children who stood around watching the protesters. "It was simply full of hatred," she said.

After leaving Dheisheh the demonstrators returned to Jerusalem where they joined the vigil outside the official residence of prime minister Menachem Begin.

CSBZU was established in 1981, with the aim of recruiting support among Israelis for Bir Zeit University, after the military authorities closed it down, following the installation of the 'civil administration.' The Committee later widened its activities to support for all West Bankers.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 167, July 15, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	21
Number of articles totally censored out	7
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	1
Number of articles partially censored but used	2
Number of articles passed	11

3 NATIONALISTS DETAINED

Three prominent Palestinian nationalists were detained overnight for questioning, July 10, on allegations of incitement and organising demonstrations.

Bashir Barghouthi, editor-in-chief of *Al Talla*, a Jerusalem-based weekly, Abd al-Majid Hamdan, an editor at the paper, and George Hazboun, head of the Bethlehem Public Institution Workers Union, were arrested in simultaneous night raids on their homes. Soldiers searching Hazboun's Bethlehem home confiscated publications. The three were taken to the Ramallah military compound, where they were questioned on current West Bank political issues.

George Hazboun, who also served as deputy mayor of Bethlehem until this spring when he was fired by Mayor Elias Freij's

council, said that he was questioned on issues relating to his union activities. "They told me that since I am an active unionist they held me responsible for any (anti-occupation) protest activity," he said. Hazboun disclosed that the pair of interrogators questioned him on two separate occasions and accused him of being a Communist and an "active inciter." They also threatened him with punishment should protests occur.

Bashir Barghouthi told *Al Fajr* that he informed his interrogators he would answer questions in the presence of his lawyer. During his second summons before investigators, Barghouthi was told that the military governor "considers Communists to be responsible" for stone throwing in the West Bank. The interrogators also alleged to

Barghouthi that they had information indicating that West Bank Communists plan to hold a political conference in the occupied territories and warned against such an event taking place.

The three men were released at the same time, shortly after noon, July 11.

Barghouthi said that he regards the detention as an infringement on their personal rights. He warned that "this might be a sign of a new campaign of suppression against the Palestinian people and the nationalist forces in the occupied territories." George Hazboun added that the measure against them was aimed at giving leeway to others to carry out 'suspicious' solutions for the Palestinian problem.

A Jewish Quarter to be Built in Hebron

Three days after the attack on a settler in Hebron, July 7, the Israeli cabinet discussed housing ministry plans for the settlement of a Jewish quarter in Hebron. Hebron residents warned that settlement in the city would be carried out at their expense.

Deputy prime minister and housing minister David Levy told reporters after the Sunday, July 10, cabinet session that his ministry has a two-stage plan for the construction of a Jewish quarter in Hebron. Levy explained that the first stage, which he said will be implemented in the foreseeable future, will settle several dozen families.

The second phase of the plan, to be implemented gradually over the next three years, is based on a projected 500 Jewish

represents the commercial heart of the city.

Acting mayor of Hebron, Mustafa Natsche, who was deposed by the Israeli authorities following the July 7 incidents, said that the old Jewish quarter, which disappeared after the 1929 massacre in the city, consisted of a few houses, many of which collapsed from neglect. "The entire area totalled three or four dunums," he added. Natsche expressed astonishment at the Israeli authorities' plans to settle 500 families in Hebron, and wondered "where they are to be settled."

Natsche warned that settlers will be aiming to take over Arab-owned buildings in the same neighbourhood for their purposes.

Mission To Express Support To Arafat Thwarted

The Israeli ministry of defence recently refused exit visas to 40 prominent West Bank and Gaza Strip residents, including some mayors, professionals, and young academics who support a peace settlement with Israel, on the grounds that they were going to meet PLO chairman Yasir Arafat in Tunis. The group intended to take messages of support from the local population to Arafat.

Haj Rashad Shawwa, the deposed mayor of Gaza, told *Al Fajr* that he received a telephone call from abroad asking him to make the trip. "I called the Israeli ministry of defence and asked them to give me an answer as to whether I could go within 24 hours. I received a negative reply."

Shawwa denied any contacts or coordination with other people. "I know only about myself. I want to support Yasir Arafat because he is the symbol of the Palestinian revolution," Shawwa told *Al Fajr*.

Shawwa said, "I wanted to discuss this matter with Yasir Arafat if I met him, but I did not discuss it with the *Jerusalem Post*."

He said he expected a negative answer because "it is an occupying government." The local delegation is also believed to have planned to intervene in the crisis within Fatah organisation, "but the Israeli authorities want to deepen the crisis in the PLO."

Shawwa told *Al Fajr* that protests and condemnations by the local population are useless. He concluded, "Here we are under occupation and we are

deprived of power. Our only weapon is to stand fast in our country."

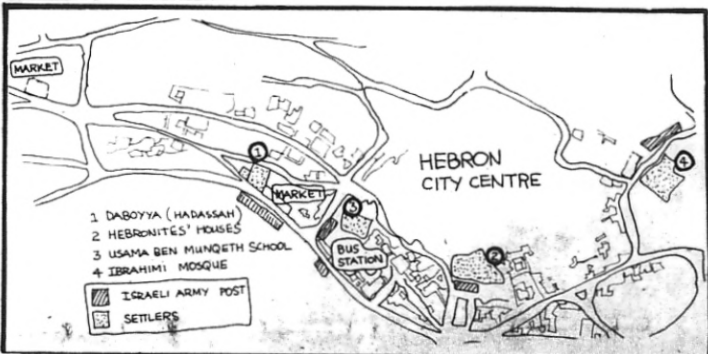
Moshe Arens, Israeli minister of defence, vetoed the idea of contacts with the PLO, calling it a violation of Israeli government policy.

An unnamed prominent West Banker told the *Jerusalem Post*, July 8, that the intention of the group was to urge Yasir Arafat "to cooperate with the people in the occupied territories and with Jordan to bring about a peaceful solution."

Sheikh al-Alami Meets Elia

Israeli TV reported on its Arabic language news broadcast that Sheikh Sa'ed ed-Din al-Alami, head of the Islamic Supreme Council in Jerusalem, met the Israeli 'civil administration' head Shlomo Elia, July 6. The report said the meeting took place in the 'civil administration' headquarters in Beit El on the initiative of al-Alami.

The Jerusalemite Islamic figure confirmed that such a meeting had taken place, stating that it was a meeting on a private issue. He explained that he wanted to obtain an exit permit to go to Jordan. When asked why a Jerusalem ID cardholder needs to get a 'civil administration' permit to go to Amman, he said that "it makes crossing at



the bridge much easier."

Legal experts note that the bridges which link the West Bank with Jordan are administered by Israeli police, who are subordinate to the ministry of interior. Jerusalem residents who carry Israeli and not West Bank ID cards, (Israel regards Jerusalem as an annexed city) and wish to cross the bridge do not need the 'civil administration' authorisation, unless their names were blacklisted at the bridge.

A Quiet Id al-Fitr

Id al-Fitr, marking the end of Ramadan, was celebrated very quietly this year, because of the prevailing political conditions following the recent dismissal of the Hebron council. The Supreme Islamic Council in Jerusalem called on Muslims to restrict their activities solely to performing prayers. None of the usual banners and decorations were put up in the towns and villages of the West Bank. Temporary play facilities for children were erected.

Id al-Fitr, one of the biggest feasts in the Muslim calendar, was decreed 14 centuries ago

families being brought to the city. Levy, however, said that the plans require top-level government approval and the allocation of funds for the project.

Israeli observers say that government approval will not constitute a problem, since the decision to reactivate settlement in the heart of Hebron was passed three years ago. During the last cabinet session, five ministers called for quick settlement of the southernmost city in the West Bank. Among them were minister of housing, David Levy, minister of interior, Yosef Burg, minister of science, Yuval Ne'eman, minister without portfolio, Ariel Sharon, and minister of health, Eliazar Shostak.

In a speech to the cabinet session, Sharon revealed that settlers want to seize the bus station and the commercial market for their future settlement. The two places are considered the heart of the city and both are still under curfew. Public transportation to all villages and towns in the district have been disrupted. The wholesale produce market

along with al-Adha to replace the pre-Islamic Arab celebrations. It is usually marked by intensive family visiting and the exchange of gifts and money between families, friends and neighbours. This year, discussion of the politics of settlements and the attempt in Hebron to stop the Muslims praying in the Ibrahim Mosque overshadowed all festivities.

es. He also warned that the Israeli-appointed mayor is likely to facilitate the Israeli takeover of Palestinian-owned buildings in the city.

The plans to settle Israelis in the centre of Hebron have been condemned in Israeli opposition circles and by the US administration. In a statement issued by the Israeli Labour Party in Tel Aviv, July 10, the opposition party warned that settling in Hebron would "increase hatred." The statement warned that "a mixed town inside Hebron against the wishes of its Arab population will cause tragedy for future generations." The Peace Now movement also issued a statement expressing opposition to the move.

The Reagan administration called the Israeli plans "harmful to the peace process."

At present, there are a handful of families living in two buildings in downtown Hebron - the Daboyya building and Usama Ben Munqeth school. Several months ago, Israeli settlers started bulldozing Palestinian-owned houses in the city. They were stopped by an Israeli High Court order nisi, which called for a temporary halt of work until complaints by the municipality are heard.

Settlers expect the new Israeli administration in the city to cancel appeals to the High Court.

*Congratulations to our colleagues
Said & Samia
Samia & Ali
on the occasion of their marriages*

US Citizen - Settler Gets 3 Years

The Israeli district court in Jerusalem sentenced Israeli settler Israel Fuchs, a US citizen, to 36 months imprisonment, July 7, after convicting him on charges of carrying a weapon without a licence, and trying to use it on a Palestinian resident. The sentence is the most severe passed against an Israeli settler vigilante.

Fuchs, 19, a member of the Kach terrorist movement, was convicted of firing at the car of a Palestinian driver from Yatta, nearly four months ago. The driver escaped unharm, but the car was hit in several places by gunfire. Driver Darwish Taleb filed a complaint at the Hebron police station after the incident. The settlers, after their arrest, said that the driver had splashed water on them and tried to run them down in his car.

The court sentenced Fuchs to nine months effective sentence, and nine more suspended, for carrying an unlicensed weapon. Thirty additional months were given for endangering the

life of a driver.

Israeli settlers in the occupied West-Bank and Gaza are usually issued weapons by the military governorate, soon after they move to the occupied territories. The defence lawyer argued that 'special circumstances' compelled his client to carry an unlicensed weapon, but the presiding judge rejected this argument, stressing that the Israeli army is responsible for the safety of Jewish settlers. The judge also rejected the defence lawyer's claim of self-defence alleging that the car driver tried to run the defendant down with his car. The judge stated that it was within Fuch's power to stop the car by firing at its tyres.

The incident occurred during a spate of settler attacks against Palestinian targets in the Hebron area. Settlers fired at the house of a Hebronite near Kiryat Arba and injured his four-year-old daughter. A bomb planted by settlers in al-Qazazin Mosque in the heart of the city exploded

and injured two worshippers.

The trial is seen as precedent-setting by some legal observers, in view of the relatively stiff sentence, but only for similar cases tried in Jerusalem District Court. It is the prerogative of the military government to decide which court - civil, military or Jerusalem district - will hear a case involving an Israeli settler.

In a West Bank court, an Israeli military judge in Ramallah sentenced two Palestinian residents of Za'atara, near Hebron, July 7, to life imprisonment. The two residents, Rabe Abu Mohammad, 20, and Mohammad Ta'aman, 20, were convicted of killing an Israeli settler at the Herodian archaeological site, one year ago. The court also sentenced four others said to be in the same commando cell to prison terms ranging from three to 18 years.

The Israeli army blew up the houses of three of the men shortly after their arrest.

Musician al-Kurd Returns



Mustafa Kurd, centre, well-known Palestinian lute player, arrived at Lydda Airport, July 11, after being forbidden from returning to the place of his birth for eight years. He arrived accompanied by his wife, Hilga, right, and their son, Darwish, foreground.

The Jerusalem resident was sent into exile after being imprisoned for the 'nationalistic nature' of his music and forced to sign a document stating he would never again return.

Kurd was finally able to return largely due to the efforts of Israeli lawyer Les Tsemel, who continually petitioned the Israeli government for the repeal of his deportation.



Hebron city centre under curfew / JN

HEBRON DISMISSALS

continued from page 1

and watched as settlers razed 90 percent of the market, tossing stalls and produce onto several fires which raged in the narrow alleys. Several shops were also wrecked. Soldiers briefly detained two settlers who tried to prevent firefighters from extinguishing the blaze. They also stopped the manhandling of journalists covering the event.

An official army inquiry said soldiers were ordered not to confront settlers and said it would pay compensation "if it were approached." Explaining how the fire raged for two hours while there were no arrests, one officer told the *Jerusalem Post*: "There was a long moment when nothing was done." Defence Minister Arens' car was also attacked by settlers.

With the curfew in force, house-to-house searches were instituted but there were no reports of arrests. The curfew was lifted

for some hours to allow Id al-Fitr shopping, July 9, but then reimposed and extended after news of an impending Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University demonstration in the town. (see page 2)

The curfew was lifted again for 12 hours on July 11, the first day of the feast, and there almost were clashes when settlers tried to stop Muslim worshippers from getting into the Ibrahim Mosque. The curfew was then reimposed.

Settlers are using the latest incident, according to Israeli reports, to press for relaxed restrictions regarding the use of weapons against Palestinians and for expanded settlement in Hebron. Some settlers have handed back weapons to the army in protest. Military sources say, however, that no relaxation in the regulations permit free fire only if the settlers' lives are threatened.

(Translations: Israeli and Palestinian papers.)

Clashes between Jerusalem's Orthodox Jewish community and the Israeli police and government officials escalated considerably during the past week. Physical fights on the streets of the Mea Sharim quarter resulted in injuries to the elderly, women and children and the arrest of scores of others. The fights were a result of escalated protest against archaeological digging at a Jewish cemetery outside the Jerusalem Old City walls. The furor caused by the protest has resulted in calls for the deportation of leaders of the anti-Zionist religious movement, Neturei Karta, by West Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek.

Acts of protest have been on-going daily for the past three weeks, ever since a permit was issued to archaeologist Yigal Shilo to dig at the site of a Jewish cemetery on the southern slope outside the Jerusalem Old City walls. It is known as the City of David dig.

Daily at 12:45 pm near the excavation site and 8:00 pm at Mea Sharim, demonstrators have clashed with police and border patrolers. Scores have been reported injured and over 100 arrested. Thirty-four Orthodox demonstrators remain behind bars in Ashkelon and Abu Kabir, Jaffa. Three minors are being held at the Moscoviyia detention centre in Jerusalem.

An additional 24 Orthodox protestors were arrested in Bnei Brak, near Tel Aviv, when they demonstrated near the house of National Religious Party education minister Zevulun Hammer, July 12. Hammer issued the excavation permit. Back in Jerusalem, the offices of the educa-

tion ministry were vandalised by the residents of nearby Mea Sharim.

West Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek attacked the anti-Zionist community, July 11. Kollek singled out Rabbi Moshe Hirsch and other US passport-holders, calling for them "to return to where they immigrated from." Hirsch, the official spokesman of the Neturei Karta movement, has been very active lately making appearances on local and international television. Hirsch said on Israel TV, July 10, that "even in Communist countries under Communist rule, the honour of Jewish cemeteries is preserved."

Retorting to Kollek's expulsion call, the 65-year-old Rabbi asked *Al Fajr*, "What is Kollek of all people doing here in the Holy Land? We arrived here long

before he did because we consider this land holy." The site where the excavations are taking place was declared unequivocally to be the site of an ancient Jewish cemetery by rabbis of Agudat Israel, a religious grouping in the government coalition of Neturei Karta and of the Israeli government.

Rabbi Hirsch told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli police are "protecting lawbreakers." Hirsch was referring to the fact that the archaeological team started digging before erecting three protective walls around the area of the dig as was stipulated in the permit. The anti-Zionist leader, who welcomed the opportunity to engage in battle with Zionists, was quick to insist, however, that even if the walls are built, "the protest will continue until Zionism is buried once and for all."

Families Refused Access to Prisoners

Officials at Beer Sheva prison, in the Naqab, prevented families of Palestinian prisoners from visits, July 13. Prisoners' families reported that as they waited for the scheduled Id al-Fitr visit outside the compound, they heard explosions inside, and a white cloud engulfed the prison buildings. One Hebron resident visiting Hamdi Wazwaz, who is serving a life-term on a number of political charges, said that the first group of parents were inside when they began hearing the explosions. The soldiers immediately told the families to leave and return 'some other time.'

When the families inquired, guards said the prisoners 'do not wish to be visited.' The officials

refused a request by families to see one or two prisoners to allay fears for their safety.

The International Committee of the Red Cross was informed of the situation in the prison, but declined comment.

AL FAJR SUPPLEMENT

Subscribe to *Al Fajr*'s daily bulletin of translations from the local Arab press. The translations will be of the same day's papers, and will include abridged versions of the editorials from *Al Shaab*, *Al Talia*, *Al Quds* and *Al Ittihad*.

For additional information, please ask at *Al Fajr* English offices, 2 Hatem Ta'ee Street, Jerusalem, or call 281035.

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ISRAEL'S REAL INTENTIONS

The events last week in Hebron have made crystal clear to all doubters the real intentions of the Israeli government towards the Hebron residents in particular and the Palestinian population in general.

Israeli intentions were cleverly hidden from the general Israeli and international public, but Palestinians were never fooled. Settler provocations were escalating at a high pace as the Israeli public was kept busy with the moves of US Special Envoy Philip Habib and Secretary of State George Schultz and supposed PLO splits.

A four-year-old Hebron girl was shot; later a bomb exploded outside the al-Qain Mosque, injuring two Hebronites, and open season was declared on electric pylons. Still drawing no response, provocations continued. The busy garage section of Hebron next to the squatted Daboya building was placed under curfew twice during the past month.

At that time acting Mayor Mustafa Natshe warned that unless settlers were stopped, it would be the start of a forced Palestinian exodus from Hebron. But no one listened.

Again two weeks ago Gush Emunim settlers from Kiryat Arba burnt two Arab buses and again electric pylons were destroyed.

Finally when an Israeli settler was stabbed, the fog started to clear. Soft-spoken acting Mayor Natshe, who had denounced the killing, was the first to go — along with his municipal council. They were only appetizers for the blood-thirsty right-wing settlers.

Next, Israeli Deputy Prime Minister David Levy boasted that his housing minister already has detailed plans to settle 500 Israeli families in downtown Hebron. And the Palestinian residents of Hebron are firmly told that nothing will stop Israelis from building a Jewish quarter in their city as they did in Jerusalem.

What more does Israel have to do to show the world its real intentions for Hebron, the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan or South Lebanon?

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Those 'Brotherly' Arab Governments

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

An expression often used by American Jewish supporters of Israel is this: "Let's not hang our dirty laundry in the open for all to see." Palestinians and Arabs in the US, among others, call this hypocrisy. So that the same adjective will not rightly be used against those of us who see a lot of dirty laundry in the Arab world, especially in those 'socialist progressive republics', the laundry must be hung in the bright sun for all to see — except that there may not be enough line on which to hang it all.

The following conversation took place between myself and another Palestinian journalist making return visits to Damascus, recently. My Palestinian colleague spoke without interruption — his voice responding to his inner mood, sometimes loud and fast and other times slow and quiet. Both tones of voice reflected unmistakably his anger, frustration and near despair.

"Beautiful Damascus is an Arab capital which is believed to be the heart of the Arab land, and which I have had the pleasure of visiting many times. As an Arab Palestinian and a US citizen, I had, not for the first time, to adopt a new identity in order to receive a visa to Damascus. I and other Arab colleagues," he said, "have come to understand that journalists are not the most liked people in the Arab world, including Damascus, unless of course one is on the payroll, or is at least a friend or sympathizer of the government in control. More than once," he said, "I had to deny my profession in order to facilitate my entry to Damascus."

This was not really the subject he had said he wanted to talk about while flying from Damascus back to the US, but it certainly fit well in the general topic of ironies and half-truths of the Arab world.

"I'm in no way trying to exonerate Israel. There is enough responsibility for all to share. But the Palestinian issue and the Palestinian people have, since 1948, been dealt more, and certainly more damaging, blows by Arab governments than by Israel itself. Those of us in the US, certainly in Europe as well, are often at a loss for words when such facts are thrown at us by non-Arabs."

"The list of those governments' misdeeds against the Palestinians and the PLO is a long one, but," he added, "just to name some of this dirty laundry for those who wish to see, there is the Jordanian government, which is believed to have caused the death of between 15,000-20,000 Palestinians in 1970: this took place in Jordan while the Iraqi Ba'ath army stationed there watched, not lifting a finger. The Iraqi government then hosted Abu Nidal's group, and their history is well known. Then there are the Lebanese, the real authorities, the right-wing minority forces who made Lebanon, as a Palestinian official put it recently, 'a country that most loved us.' Palestinians and that also most hated us.' And of course there is Egypt's Sadat and Mubarak, whose Camp David accords and peace treaty with Israel were certain to be seen in the only way they could have been — a license for Israel and others to accelerate both qualitatively and quantitatively their strikes against the Palestinians and their leaders. Qaddafi's suggestion of 'fight until death' to his 'brothers' the Palestinians in Beirut last summer would most likely have contributed to the death of most of the Palestinian and Lebanese fighters."

"This is not really all, but only two more 'brotherly' governments should be added, the Saudis and Syrians. The Saudis, of course, are thought to be the only Arab government with potential leverage over the US, and which could contribute more than any Arab government to a really acceptable solution to the Palestinian problem. They have done much for the Pales-

tinians, except the real thing. The real thing was tried on August 14 last year when King Fahd called Reagan at the White House, who in turn called Begin at the Knesset, bringing about a halt to 14 hours of non-stop bombing of West Beirut. 'When something works,' the saying goes, 'use it' — why the Saudis didn't do so earlier and still don't now is anybody's guess...

"Last but not least is Syria's government, which lately has done what the Palestinians' real enemies couldn't do. Every Middle East specialist, commentator and observer believes that Fatah's internal dispute couldn't have lasted this long without Syrian interference and that of other 'brotherly' governments. The Syrian government, however, continues to deny any interference. All others and many Syrians I talked to while in Damascus disregard these denials by the Ba'ath government in Damascus. In 1976," he said sadly, "the future of the whole region and that of the PLO, many believe, would have changed altogether had Syrian tanks not rolled westward into Lebanon. That interference killed the hoped-for possibility of Lebanese salvation, where progressives, supported by the unquestionable majority there, would have advanced to their rightful position in the country. American journalists as well as other Westerners also keep reminding their readers of Tel al-Za'atar, of the many victims who died during that Syrian intervention, of Abu Walid's death, and that of Kamal Jumblatt."

"Those very same observers believe it was the irony of all ironies, during last summer's war in Lebanon, that while the Syrian army was willing, ready, and apparently, even according to even Israeli military analysts, capable of fighting and defending Lebanon, the Palestinians and themselves, that the orders to do so from Damascus were never received. Now those Middle East hands find it amusing that Syrian authorities blame PLO leaders of 'defeatism' and of accepting plans for a Middle East solution they argue falls short of Palestinian and Arab goals. The final act by the Syrian authorities of humiliating four and one half million Palestinians and millions of others all over the world by expelling Yasser Arafat from Syria, a country which prides itself on being open to any Arab subject, was too hard a blow. Arafat was given two-to-three hours to leave Syria — even American spies in the USSR and Soviet spies in the US are granted about 24 hours to leave their host country. The excuse for Arafat's expulsion is obvious — the Syrian government was taking sides in an internal Fatah dispute."

The Palestinian journalist, seeming very distraught and depressed, went on. "Not even one bullet was fired from across the border of any Arab country since 1973 in the direction of Israel; Lebanon not included of course. Palestinian fighters who attempted to do so out of their belief that it is their national duty were forbidden from it, and often beaten and put in jails, in Arab prisons. And those Palestinians, Lebanese and other Arab fighters in the Palestinian movement behind Syrian lines who find the Israeli occupiers in Lebanon a sitting duck for their attacks, are effectively prevented by the Syrian army from doing so, except for a fraction who succeed despite the Syrian decision to stop them."

My colleague went on and on about more 'brotherly' Arab treatment of their Palestinian brethren and those of their own people and the conditions these people lie under. In short, he was very critical of these Arab regimes, not excluding any at all. My journalist friend then said that there is much more filthy laundry to be hung. "It all has to be hung under the bright rays of the sun. Maybe," he concluded, "since the acceptable means of cleaning the dirt didn't do the job, nor did hiding the laundry, the sun should burn the dirt and laundry with it."

After a long stretch of silence, he smiled and asked, "With brothers such as these, who really needs enemies?"

Is there another Eli Cohen active in Syria on behalf of the Israeli Mossad? The recent Syrian behaviour towards the Palestinians would indicate that there is. The expulsion of Yasser Arafat from Damascus and Syria, together with only five of his company, 25 others having been detained, and the attacks on Palestinian convoys, killing their members and sending the live ones for mistreatment at the hands of the rebellious Palestinian units, give the impression that someone is playing into the Zionists' hands, both politically and propaganda-wise:

* For Zionists, the 'split' in the PLO 'proves' that the organisation is not the sole representative of Palestinians and that the Palestinians are not united.

* The brutality that is demonstrated — or even that which can claim to be demonstrated — in the clashes between allied military units may be used as a justification for further Zionist atrocities in the name of 'preventative self-defence'. Any simple Israeli Jew could reason, not without real justification, that 'if they do so to themselves, why should we restrict ourselves?' or 'if Palestinians do this to their own, what would they do to us?' Everything is relative, after all.

It is war that should be eliminated! It causes the dehumanisation of the Palestinians. When we speak out against the dehumanisation of the Palestinians by the Israelis, we do so on the grounds of defence of human dignity and the basic human right to life. For the Zionist Israelis it is not the injustice to the Palestinians that counts, but Israel's international image and Israeli lives, shortened in the on-going war in the Lebanon. This is also true, unfortunately, of Peace Now followers, whom one might think of as being different from other Zionists.

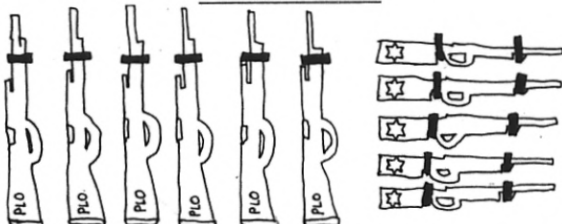
The difficulty facing Palestinian artists, whether in music, theatre, or any of the visual arts, is that they are expected to exhibit their political opinions through their work in a way that unequivocally reflects those of the spectator. The 'way' is important, as that is where much of the 'art' is.

I prefer to write more specifically about the art of painting, which will exclude the functional, the decorative and three-dimensional arts. Most of the painters in the occupied territories are amateurs, ie they do not depend entirely on their work for their income. This should give them more liberty to experiment, there being few opportunities for professional employment, in education or elsewhere.

I shall put the forms of painting which are most common into three categories: portraits, genre (allegory included) and posters (where various graphic and painting materials are used). In portraits, facial expressions are often idealised to represent preconceived ideas of a stereotype. Men are the fathers, brothers and sons of the imagination. Women are often depicted as angelic beings, physically unscented and ethereal, which does no honour to all the manual work they do, the child bearing and child rearing. This immaculate woman, this symbol, is a peasant. All this kind of imagery represents the 'ideal', the 'wish'. Social themes often remind us of the non-industrialised society that used to be, ie of the time

PEACE FOR PEACE

by Thoma Shick



The work of the peace people of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, the *Yesh Goul* (There is a Limit) people, and the other peace groups that compose these coalitional bodies, is interrupted and boycotted by the rebellions in the PLO and Syrian activities. It is hard to believe that 'Soviet instigation' is behind it — as Zionist commentators try to claim. The Moscow-oriented Israeli Communist Party (Rakah) is one of the most active components of the non-Zionist peace coalition in Israel. Knowing that radicalisation for peace and equality within the Israeli Jewish population is impossible under such circumstances, one should resort to more imaginative reasoning.

It is encouraging that the population and leadership in the occupied territories does not fall into the trap and continues to support the central leadership of the PLO. At the same time, Palestinians in Lebanon are being killed by all, even by Palestinians themselves. What are the Palestinians going to do? To become a people of martyrs? Martyrdom for what? For a secular democratic state that looks at the moment like it will never become a reality? If the Palestinian struggle needs the religious

tantrums of the Jerusalem Mufti Sheikh Saad al-Din al-Alami, who called for the killing of Syrian President Assad in the name of God, there is going to be no secular democratic state! The future begins with the steps of the present!

Look at Israel and the Israelis and learn from their mistakes. Do the Palestinians wish to become a domineering society? One that is semi-theocratic? In the given circumstances, only a peaceful policy can help the Palestinian cause.

The military power is now with Israel, and so far the Palestinians have only suffered. The world support that Israel has had, because of the Nazi-perpetrated holocaust, is diminishing as a result of the fascistisation — the more and more overt fascistisation — of the Zionist activities. The world is recognising more and more the basic mistake that caused the mini-holocaust of the Palestinians, through the enforcement of Zionism. Palestinians, please! Do not lose this momentum by resorting to a self-made holocaust!

Zionist ideology cannot counter realistic peace proposals. One of the reasons for the invasion of Lebanon was to break the civil service set-up of the

PLO. Militarily it succeeded, by and large, but politically and diplomatically it failed. It is the PLO that has gained respect and support. But the rate of casualties was major. Should more now be added by your own hands?

The Fez Arab Summit Conference resolutions and the evacuation of Beirut looks positive in the relative sense, and should be promoted and developed. It serves the Palestinian cause. In my opinion, the follow-up should be in the form of a non-violent Palestinian peace offensive. The first step would be a statement by Yasser Arafat that for every five Israeli soldiers who totally resist military service in the Israeli army, the PLO military wing would stand down six Palestinian soldiers — under international supervision. This would strengthen the *Yesh Goul* people in Israel, and might even push Peace Now followers who are swinging between their human conscience and their 'loyalty' to the state. In general, such a statement would concentrate attention on positive acts rather than killing.

There are many more non-violent direct acts which could be proposed. Look at the Israeli doctors' strike — how beautifully it was worked out and how beautifully it worked. This was a typical Gandhian non-violent direct action. It's a pity it was not for a better cause than money. It could have been directed to stop the war. The doctors could do it.

Everything is a matter of patience. Even the Palestinians who call for military action speak about patience and time. The difference is that in the meantime, the Palestinian masses and individuals are hit and suffering and the land is being taken from beneath their feet.

Let's avoid more suffering, not cause more of it.

On Commitment to Art...

by Michael Allen

before the occupation and colonisation, though memories are somewhat idealised. These same themes also represent the hope for the future; they symbolise independence. Not a great deal of profound attention has been paid to all the aspects of political realities, nor to all the social realities. Though society itself has not changed all that much, especially in outlying regions, such things as land confiscation and the annexation of both manpower and a society of consumers have forced a lot of changes. There is a tendency to generalise the occupation, however, even if there is an area where personal experiences overlap, to reveal collective ones; evidently the occupation has different effects or applies different pressures on different people. Those who come from all parts of the country, towns; men, women, poor, wealthy, young and old, farmers, moneychangers. None of these have the same kind of experiences. The blind, the deaf and the otherwise handicapped members of society must all be exempt from this generalisation. Finally, posters which are very popular, are usually compositions of isolated images, literal in concept, with little visual unity. Unfortunately, I think they are unsuccessful in attracting an unambiguous 'outside' response to the unambiguous emotive information badly expressed. So, not much successful use can be made of them in their role as publicity media. The word

'committed' is often used by the local media to describe the work of the artist who conforms. This is not a judgement on art, I should add, but perhaps on politics. To my way of thinking, 'committed' art has a tendency to be simplistic and trite; a recycling of old ideas. Insofar as public reaction anticipates immediate recognition of familiar imagery, the imagery becomes of secondary importance, and the 'message' or 'meaning' is stale.

In my view, the artist who is not content merely to 'satisfy' popular demand deserves special praise. One who is not content to produce work, the conceptual quality of which remains static, neither deteriorates nor improves, deserves respect. However, that there is as yet little active opposition to the demands society makes for the kind of work it expects to see, is largely explained by the position of the artist, himself an integral part of society. Society is generally unsympathetic to deviations from what is normal. The word 'uncommitted', (or perhaps it is 'non-committed', which suggests something more deliberate) is used to describe the artist who does not conform.

I am not totally pessimistic about the chances of achieving a good relationship between art and politics, or between artists and the media, or between artists and art. The problem is not an absence

of talent or of motivation. Of course, in order to be effective, the artist's skills of perception should be combined with the skills of execution. Regrettably, there are virtually no colleges or centres for learning the basic skills of drawing and painting, or any other forms of art. A commitment to art can be established with education, and this kind of commitment is very necessary for anyone who wants to use the medium effectively. Also important is a commitment to the pursuit of a scientific understanding of all the components of visible reality — an understanding of line, shape, form, colour, light, texture, of the natural and synthetic, of illusions, distortions and rearrangements. Also important is the exploration of the areas of fantasy and different levels of perception.

Resolving the problem is not particularly easy, and not much of an attempt has been made. Of course it is important to maintain a good relationship between the artist and society, which is not done by confronting it with something seen to be 'unintelligible' or 'without value.' A good relation is essential for selling work, exhibiting ideas, and finding space to do it in. I do not believe that there is anything in

continued on page 13

Michael Allen has spent five years studying art at Hornsey College of Art in London. He was a professional graphic designer before coming to Palestine. He is presently teaching English as Bir Zeit University.

The 35-year long Israeli war against the Islamic waqf trustee property and Muslim holy places is still being waged. The Israelis, apparently, do not want a ceasefire or truce, although the Palestinian Muslims in Israel have organised intensified protest activities in the last few months to push for the liberation of the Islamic waqf from the control of the Israeli government and a halt to the desecration of Islamic holy sites.

The Israeli bulldozers, which levelled several Islamic cemeteries in Haifa and Jaffa in the past two years (Istiqal cemetery was destroyed in 1981), levelled two dunums of Nabi Saleh cemetery in Ramle, June 16, obliterating 20 graves under mounds of plowed dirt.

This "odd activity" was carried out under the guise of broadening a dirt road passing through a small part of the cemetery. A brief examination of the site, however, prompted doubts in the minds of many local Muslims. The two dunums which were levelled do not extend along the road, but only touch it in one small area, making it look like a big pocket.

The vandalism of the cemetery culminated a four-year tug-of-war between the Jewish-dominated Ramle municipality and the local Muslim community. In 1979 the Israeli-appointed Islamic Trustees Committee applied for a permit to build a concrete protective wall around the cemetery. "But the municipality," said Muhammad Haddad, an activist in the local Communist Party branch, "wanted to blackmail the committee." He explained that the Ramle municipality approved the building permit on condition the committee agrees to "allow" the municipality to "take a few metres" from the cemetery for the alleged road.

"Such blackmail," Haddad marked, "caused popular outcry and opposition from the whole Arab population of Ramle. They sent a petition to the concerned Israeli circles, and to the Muslim Qadi Farid Wajdi al-Tabari."

In the light of this protest, which prevented the Trustees Committee from giving an 'OK', the Israelis suspended their plan. The situation continued without a decision being taken by either the committee or the municipality until last month. Then the Trustees Committee, under pressure from the municipality and the office of the prime minister's

The union of public institutions and construction workers of Tulkarm is one of the most active unions in the northern district of the West Bank. Its activities are not restricted to city work but extend to most neighbouring villages and the two refugee camps in the locale. Since the union was set up by local unionist Sheikh Salim Salman in 1964, it has taken upon itself the role of aiding under-developed villages which still lack basic services such as electricity and clinics. Besides organising Palestinian workers both in Israeli- and Palestinian-owned factories and workshops, the union has a wide programme of social and cultural activities.

The Unionist Role

Handling the problems of Palestinian workers and educating them on labour affairs is vital work for the union. In the last two months the union has dealt with 53 different labour cases, including demands for compensation or weekly holidays and protests against delayed wages or arbitrary dismissals. "The union," said Fayal Hindi, deputy secretary, "is always in contact with the workers, and through them we intervene with management." He remarked that this intervention occurs only in cases where the boss is Palestinian. If the

IN RAMLE

THE ZIONIST WAR ON HOLY SITES

by Awad Abdel Fattah

Advisor for Arab Affairs, got a fatwa (religiously binding decision) from Qadi Wajdi al-Tabari which permitted only two metres to be seized from the cemetery and stipulated that no grave should be touched. When the municipality took over, anger, bitterness and resentment among the Arab population intensified.

Local residents, who have no confidence in the Trustees Committee, believe that the municipality took over the large section of the cemetery not to enlarge the road, but as "another step on the way to devouring the whole cemetery," said Thibab Abu Taban an elderly, religious man, as he sat in his



Nabi Saleh cemetery to the left. Israeli bulldozers destroyed 20 graves in June on the guise of widening this road through Ramle/AA

dilapidated house. "All the members of the Trustees Committee are traitors," he said angrily in a loud voice.

Abdel Karim al-Jaafari, a Ramle resident active in local social affairs, charged that the Israelis have been using the Trustees Committee, "which they created as a tool for carrying out their conspiracies against the Islamic holy places and waqf property."

The members of the committee are viewed by residents as either collaborators or opportunists. The most striking example provided as proof by the Ramle Muslim community is that the former secretary of the committee, Abd al-Hamid Abu Laban, works as the main propagandist on the Israeli Arab-language radio against Arab countries. The fact that the committee was imposed on the community rather than elected,

and that the only relationship that exists in the committee is with the Israeli circles, created total mistrust of it.

Other Islamic Sites Under Threat

In the heart of Ramle stands a statuesque tower, built of old stones, according to the Muslim community in Ramle, the tower, whose summit can only be reached by a narrow, unlit staircase inside, was built by the Muslim leader Salah al-Din as a military observation post over nine centuries ago.

The historical importance and the architectural beauty of the tower have always been a subject of concern to the Israeli authorities, according to locals. In 1979, the Nabi Saleh tower, and half of the cemetery grounds — 55 dunums

— were cordoned off by an iron fence. The Israelis said that the area is an archaeological site and therefore so-called state property. Since then the Ramle Muslim community has been prevented from burying their dead there. However, access to the place for organising rituals by the Muslim community is still available.

Nabi Saleh cemetery has not been the only target of control or destruction. Except for seven mosques still in use by the Muslim community, almost all waqf property (which amounts, according to local notables, to 5000 dunums of land and hundreds of old shops and houses) are controlled and used by the Israeli government. Only two percent of the total waqf property has been released since 1950. Abd al-Karim al-Jaafari told *Al Fajr* that it is not possible to know

exactly how much property in Ramle is theirs, or how this property is being administered. Al-Jaafari attributes this to the fact that most of Ramle's Palestinian residents were forced to flee the town, and the Israeli government has refrained from giving any information on the subject. Several sacred places — *maqams* and *walies* (shrines) — were destroyed and their sites used by the Israeli government for various non-religious purposes, or just levelled and left. In fact several empty plots can be seen within the Arab quarter of the town. According to al-Jaafari, the Wali Sa'ad was destroyed 10 years ago by Israelis and on its 100 dunums of land buildings exclusively for Jews were built.

The income from the waqf property under trusteeship is not given over to the needed basic services of the Muslim community, whose most pressing problem is housing. According to the residents, the conditions of the Arab quarters where 10,000 Palestinians — 18 percent of the total population of Ramle — live has not been improved at all. Modern conveniences and additional rooms have not been permitted in the 50-year-old houses. Neither is the housing allowed to be destroyed and replaced. Consequently, the problem of overcrowding has gone from bad to worse. The Israeli company Amidar buys up and immediately destroys Arab property in the area. "The waqf property income, our own money," said Muhammad Haddad, "is being stolen and used for Israelis who receive subsidies from different bodies, while we are neglected completely, as if we were not human beings."

Palestinians in Ramle believe that there is a "dangerous" plan behind the deliberate neglect of the Arab quarters and the unconditional Israeli rejection of applications to build new houses. "It is very clear," Haddad remarked, "that the Israelis are determined to implement their racist and chauvinist plan, to remove the Arab quarters and transform Ramle into a purely Jewish town."

But the plan has been meeting strong opposition by the population. Only a small number of families have left the miserable housing conditions for other places. The majority are not thinking of leaving their homes. "We will continue to struggle to improve our conditions and to press for the liberation of the waqf property," concluded Haddad.

charge of sanitation in the municipality, told *Al Fajr* that the voluntary sanitation campaign was "a great contribution" to the town.

Imad Labadi, the head of the voluntary work committee, said, "We want to keep our town clean and symbolically lessen the effects of the financial ban." He believes that voluntary work "reinforces relations between people and unites them against the occupation forces."

Another accomplishment by the committee this year was the building of a 250-metre road in the neighbouring refugee camp of Nur Shams. Construction materials were provided by UNRWA and by the refugees themselves; the labour force, which amounted to 120 volunteers, was recruited by the union.

Last winter, the committee formed an emergency sub-committee in the camp to relieve those whose houses were rain-damaged.

At the beginning of 1983, the committee helped farmers from various villages plant 900 olive trees and vine-

continued on page 15

TULKARM UNION OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

SERVING THE COMMUNITY

by Awad Abdel Fattah

work place is Israeli, the labour dispute is handled through a lawyer.

The union's responsibility towards the workers is in giving them legal advice when a problem arises between them and the owners. "In fact," said Fayal, "we have started to have an effect on many Palestinian employers." The union recently convinced owners, for example, to sign a wage agreement which includes a three-month increment.

In 1981, the union implemented a long-awaited decision to establish Palestinian workers committees in some Israeli factories. These committees meet in the union to acquaint the administrative board with the working conditions and the problems they encounter in the Israeli factories so that the board can act. "But our role in Israeli work places," Fayal pointed out, "is only defensive. We try to obtain for the workers what the law already grants them."

Educating workers on labour affairs is an integral part of the union's programme. Regular courses include lec-

tures on the role and history of the international working classes, including the Palestinian working class; theoretical differences between socialism and capitalism and political economy are also discussed. "We want our working class to be socially, politically and ideologically conscious of the contradictions governing the development of human society," Fayal explained. He also added that they have to understand the occupation and its responsibility for the "national and class exploitation they undergo."

Voluntary Work

The union's voluntary work committee organises projects in Tulkarm and the villages, such as cleaning streets, helping farmers with cultivation and harvest and other tasks. The latest voluntary activities involved organising a seven-day clean-up campaign in the Tulkarm streets. The lack of municipal sanitation workers, because of financial problems caused by the Israeli-imposed ban on bringing in money from Jordan, prompted the union to initiate the campaign. Lutfi Salah, the person in

Israel Radio reporter Haim Hecht has a Maehavellian explanation for the Israeli entanglement in Lebanon, which is based on the findings of the Kahan Commission. According to Hecht, Mossad caused Israel to fall into the trap Bashir Gemayel and the Phalangists had set for it. Mossad's own men were blinded by their own political fantasies. Hecht reveals new facts about the struggle between Mossad and military intelligence (both of which collect information abroad, while the general Shin Beth, referred to as Shaback, operates in the occupied territories — ed.). He presents a picture of Israel's intelligence community straight out of espionage fiction, except that 500 real Israeli soldiers have been killed in Lebanon. Here is Hecht's story:

Tuesday, August 23, 1982, at 1:30 am, Kamel Assad, the chairman of the Lebanese parliament, declares Bashir Gemayel the next president of Lebanon. Outside the electoral college, in the parking lot of the Fa'adeh military academy, six armed men are listening to the radio. Three of them are Bashir's closest aides at the Phalangist headquarters. The other three are Israelis. When the Lebanese newsreader cries "Bashir Gemayel is President-elect!" the group of men start jumping. One of the Israelis hysterically fires his Kalashnikov in the air, and another Israeli falls into the arms of one of Bashir's aides, dancing with him for joy. The same night, at a party given to honour the new president, Rafel (then Israeli Chief of Staff Rafel Eitan) can be seen wandering about, looking somewhat detached. People at the party seem drunk with victory. A senior Israeli officer participating in the party not entirely voluntarily mutters loudly: "Look at them. Each one thinks he is a mini J. Edgar Hoover (ex-head of the FBI). They have created a king in this republic of the absurd, and now they can't sober up. This man will make us suffer."

Bashir reached the presidency by a bloody route, and the Israelis acted as his henchmen. Mossad dragged Israel into a violent adventure, because the agency believed that Israel stood to profit both politically and militarily as soon as Bashir was elected. The day after the "elections", however, showed that the fruits of victory were elusive. The new president was now talking quite differently, in a way which did not appeal to Israeli ears. Twice he even mocked and insulted Eitan and a group of senior officers who were with him.

The Mossad men, who had been expected to deliver the goods, kept trying to defend Bashir with various excuses, such as that the Phalangists had not sobered up yet. On Tuesday, September 14, 1982, a huge explosion destroyed the Phalangist headquarters at Ashrafieh and killed Bashir Gemayel. Prime Minister Menachem Begin issued a message saying that "Israel had lost a dear friend." Meanwhile, some Israeli officers were smiling and raising their glasses to drink to the good news: "Good riddance to that reptile!"

However, the spirit of Bashir Gemayel was still alive among the Phalangists who entered Sabra and Shatila. The massacre had become unavoidable. "Insensitivity, my ass!" (quoting the Kahan report — ed.), commented a military intelligence man who had kept a close watch on the relationship between Mossad and the Phalangists. "Just as one plus one makes two, Bashir with the Phalangists plus governing power equals Sabra and Shatila. It's a pity that in the end the right people did not pay for it."

A few paragraphs in the Kahan report tell the whole story: "... Mossad was responsible for contacts with the Phalangists and at various times had very close links with their leaders... Documents and testimonies submitted to the commission show that Mossad and military intelligence disagreed on the ties with the Phalangists. Influenced by its constant contact with the Phalangist leaders, Mossad took a very positive view of closer links with the Phalangists... The head of Mossad testified, on December 27, 1982, that Mossad tried to present the issue objectively, but since it was the very body in charge of maintaining the contacts, subjective relations, he admitted, had developed. This has to be accepted. Once one makes contact, speaks to people, relations with them develop. On the other hand, military intelligence tended to emphasise the danger of our relations with the Phalangists, who were seen as unreliable and weak, as well as for other reasons."

How come Israel accepted the "subjective" viewpoint, despite warnings from military intelligence and other army bodies?

The Assumption of Israel's Intelligence

The Christian-Maronite majority in Lebanon had been growing weaker since 1932. However, the Lebanese constitution remained unchanged and still gives the Christian minority great political privileges. Against such a background, a civil war was inevitable. The Christians wanted to safeguard their dominant position and faced a real problem of physical survival. All this provided a sound basis for ties with Israel. For one of the basic assumptions of Israel's intelligence community is that one can bypass the strength and influence of the Arab world by establishing alliances and contacts with ethnic and political minorities in the Middle East.

Already in the days of the Labour governments a "functional" alliance was established with the Phalangists, although there is no evidence that the Israeli government of the day had any great expectations regarding this alliance. Mossad was put in charge of maintaining contacts with the Phalangists. "We will help them to help themselves," was how Shimon Peres, at that time Israeli Defence Minister (now Labour Party leader), explained the links with the Christians in northern Lebanon. The idea was, of course, that the links would remain secret, and the fact that the Christians were being given military aid was also kept very quiet, even though this aid included tanks and heavy artillery.

The first contacts with the Christians in southern Lebanon were established in the mid-1970s, when "Rafel" was in charge of the northern command. He acted quite instinctively. A sympathetic Christian belt in South Lebanon was a "safety belt" for Israel, he would argue. General Avigdor Ben Gal, who took over the northern command from Rafel, added momentum and sophistication to the project. It was he who created Major Haddad, not the man himself but Haddad as the representative of a concept, namely Israeli intervention in Lebanon through maximum control. To this end, the same kitchen supplied the Christians in the north and Haddad's men in the south. Both sides received tanks and heavy artillery. Both were supplied with Israeli-made army fatigues. The Christians in the north wore a badge attached to the khaki uniform at the pocket, while the Christians in the south wore a badge on their shoulders.

At general staff meetings and in

Bashir Gemayel (right),
Menachem Begin



the Ministry of Defence the patrons of both sides tried to look after their clients and obtain budgets for them. At this stage, Israel had not yet chosen between the two concepts, and work took place along parallel lines: Mossad operated in the north and the army in the south of Lebanon. In September 1977, Major Haddad's men for the first time took part in an Israeli military operation, the conquest of Tel Sueifa, later known as the "joint operation." What had so far been humanitarian assistance now became explicit military aid to Haddad's militias. After the Litani campaign in 1978, Haddad became a factor that even Bashir, who used to treat the major with contempt, had to give thought to.

"Just as one plus one makes two, Bashir with the Phalangists plus governing power equals Sabra and Shatila."

—Israeli Military Intelligence
Officer to the Kahan Commission

However, it emerged later that Bashir Gemayel could offer solutions which were simple, fast and forceful, though not elegant... The Kahan report does not mention August 7, 1980, but it was a key date in the developments leading up to Sabra and Shatila. That day, Bashir and his men liquidated the Chamounist militia, al-Ahrar, in a brutal massacre that was in the best Mafia tradition. Only this time, the Phalangists were not murdering rivals but their own brothers and allies. That morning, the Phalangists entered Beirut's Country Club, firing at any moving target. Fathers, mothers and children were shot dead in the swimming pool. Bashir's closest friends later committed the brutal murder of Chamoun's own family. The very same friends stood, two years onwards, in the parking lot of Fayadeh, and danced for joy with the Israelis. The events of August 7 show up all those who told the Kahan commission, "We were surprised. We didn't know. We did not think them capable of..."

Military intelligence differed (from Mossad) on the subject of the Phalangists from that day onwards. It kept warning of the danger of close ties with them, their small numbers and military potential, and concluded that they could not ever again become the dominant force in Lebanon. The only stable Christian regime in Lebanon, they felt, would be a pro-Eastern Arab state. Military intelligence saw Mossad's pro-Bashir position, supposedly leading up to a peace treaty with Israel, as a mere fantasy.

How could the gap in analysis be

The prelude to Sabra-Shatila: Inside the Mossad-Phalange-Haddad Web

who's controlling whom?

so great between Mossad and military intelligence? The explanation is simple. The MI men are Arabists, who study the situation through newspapers and speeches, as well as through intelligence reports from Mossad and other sources. In this way, they arrive at a neutral evaluation of events, an analysis free of personal preconceptions or emotions. On the other hand, the head of Mossad had summed up his organisation's perspective to the Kahan Commission: "Mossad did its best to look at the issue objectively, but since Mossad was also directly in charge of the contacts, I accept the view that subjective relations did develop..."

"Mossad's men in Jounieh were sitting right up Bashir's ass," was the way a senior intelligence officer described the situation. We can find no other way of explaining why every problem was looked at by Mossad from the angle of "Bashir says." Mossad's experience in Beirut is thus reminiscent of those movies in which a spy falls in love with the female agent of the other side. The Mossad men in Lebanon fell under the spell of their partner. They were dining out together, going to all-night parties together and gambling together at the casinos of Jounieh. This created a situation in which the Israeli agents, who were supposed to issue warnings and assess and inform on the Phalangists, developed a strong emotional bond with their clients. It is well known that the Phalangists are good at public relations. I can confirm this from personal experience: The way I was received at their Beirut headquarters as a journalist made me forget, for more than a brief moment, the evil episodes of the civil war and that I was sitting among cold-blooded murderers...

There is also the matter of professional pride. Mossad wanted to succeed at any price. Its leaders had experienced a number of failures and urgently needed a new project. They wanted to present Israel with a strategic success. Mossad genuinely believed, moreover, that the political system used by the Shah of Iran, Heile Selassie of Ethiopia and General Delimi of Morocco could work and enable Israel to control Lebanon. In their position papers for the politicians, the Mossad men kept mentioning President Assad, who represents an ethnic minority of 10 percent yet governs his country successfully. Military backing for Bashir was shown as a safe option, yet the position papers were also, implicitly, a prescription for the massacre in Sabra and Shatila... By the summer of 1981, Mossad's view had become that of the government and this had to end with the war in Lebanon.

The Conflict with Syria

Another of Mossad's failures involves the shooting down of the helicopters at Jabal Sahnin, later known as the "missile crisis". To Bashir, the

Syrians were the main enemy, the greatest obstacle to his control over Lebanon. The Phalangists understood that the Israeli army was the only force that could solve the Syrian problem for them, and so Bashir had good reason to get Israel involved against the Syrians. This was openly said at the Phalangist headquarters, and from 1981 onwards they committed several obvious acts of provocation. Even the most inexperienced agent would have realised that he should warn Jerusalem, yet Mossad's warnings from Jounieh were extremely slight. Bashir continued to send his men to the Beqa'a valley.

The Syrians did not like this, since they regarded the Beqa'a as their area of influence. To them it was a most important strategic zone, and they feared that in case of a war, Israel would use the valley to bypass the Syrian army and threaten Damascus. Bashir had read the signs correctly. The Jews fell into the trap. The Phalangists entered Zahle and the clash with the Syrians became inevitable. By April 1981, the entire area was on fire. The Syrians bombed Zahle and the net woven by Bashir held its prey.

Bashir sent in reinforcements, and the Syrians responded by sending commando units and helicopters. Bashir's men were being pounded. They stood no chance against the Syrian army, but Bashir knew that things were going according to plan. This was the time to call in Mossad. Through the Israeli agents in Jounieh, he sent an SOS to Jerusalem, saying: "You must save us. Years of investment will be lost if the Syrians take over." Mossad swallowed the bait. Hysterical telegrams flew from Jounieh to Jerusalem. The Israeli government could not make up its mind what to do, but it was, in fact, already bound by its commitment to the Phalangists. Somebody did grasp at last that Bashir had deceived him and was dangerous, but (Israeli Prime Minister) Begin refused to accept this view. The concept built up by Mossad tied Begin's hands, and as man of principle he would not revoke his commitments. So the government ordered the Israeli army into action, and the Israeli airforce shot down two Syrian helicopters. The rest is history. The Syrians reacted by posting missiles in the Beqa'a, tension rose and Begin declared that Rafel and Ben Gal were ready to act in Lebanon. Bashir Gemayel smiled, and so did the Mossad men in Jounieh. Their client was happy and they believed this was good for Israel...

Sharon's Concept

While Menachem Begin was in charge of defence, Mossad managed to persuade others of its Lebanese line, but there was still some hesitation in Jerusa-



Saad Haddad
(top),
Rafael Eitan

lem as to how far Israel should go on the Christians' behalf in north Lebanon. When Ariel Sharon was appointed defence minister in the summer of 1981, all parties involved found themselves playing a different ball game... Mossad's concept fitted in well with the first stage of Sharon's own grand strategic plan. A fatal blow to the PLO and a new order in Lebanon were a promising start. In January, Sharon visited Jounieh to talk things over with Bashir. The Mossad men were happy to act as matchmakers, and were not disappointed...

Under Sharon's regime, position papers drawn up by military intelligence were attacked... The atmosphere at the defence ministry was sympathetic to Mossad. Its agents continued to supply information which was worked into position papers that invariably encouraged and praised Mossad. Representatives of military intelligence or the northern command stood no chance with their different perspectives. Sharon was taking all decisions himself... and he could always base them on Mossad reports. At meetings of the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, Sharon always made sure he had some loyal supporters present. The director-general of the Foreign Office was David Kimche, an ex-Mossad man himself, who was among those who had formulated Mossad's position on Lebanon and spent years developing it.

The army did not believe that Bashir would be elected president. Nobody thought that Mossad, which was regarded as a marginal part of the system, would manage to drag Israel into a deep involvement in the Lebanese elections. The hardest time for the northern command was between Bashir's elections and his assassination. The events following the "democratic" Lebanese elections proved that anything was possible. Some Israeli army officers saw what was happening, and more and more of them could be seen with the Phalangists in Jounieh and Beirut. The Mossad men were the heroes of the day. Only Amir Droni (the commander of the northern region) refrained from social contact with the Phalangists beyond the necessary minimum.

At joint meetings between Israeli officers and Phalangists, Bashir demanded: "Don't leave Beirut yet. Give us a few weeks to get organised. We will stay in control," he promised, and he had only one humble request from the Israeli army, that it should disarm the Druze and the Palestinian forces. Any sensible person should have realised that what was later known as the massacre of Sabra and Shatila was only part of the murderous process of "getting organised".

THE PHALANGE CONNECTION

The details of early Israeli ties to the Lebanese Phalangists were exposed in a recently declassified Israeli foreign ministry file, covering the years 1948-1951. As Israeli journalist Benny Morris (Jerusalem Post July 1, 1983) wrote in the excerpt below, Zionist contacts with the neo-fascist party go back to the 1920's and reached their height when the Phalange was "propelled into power by the Israeli invasion of 1982."

In 1948, a Phalange Party contact-man proposed to Zionist leaders that Israel help the party organise an insurrection to overthrow the pro-war regime in Lebanon.

Contacts between Israeli officials and Phalange representatives that year were apparently unfruitful, but they were resumed just over two years later, when the Christian Maronite Party asked Israel for financial assistance for the Lebanese election campaign of spring 1951. After lengthy official deliberations in Israel, limited financial aid was forthcoming, and a communication link established, laying the foundations of what was to become in the 1970s a very important relationship.

But already in those early days, there were Israeli officials who clearly anticipated the limitations for Israel of the evolving relationship. Their warnings given in 1950-51 read prophetically...

In 1937, Maronite leader and Lebanese President Emil Edde met World Zionist Organisation President Chaim Weizmann in Paris and expressed support for the Peel Commission report, favouring the partition of Palestine, and congratulated Weizmann as the future Jewish state's first president.

In March 1948, with the Jews and Arabs in Palestine already at war, a "friendly relationship" began, with (Foreign Minister Moshe) Sharet's blessing, between the American Zionist leaders and (Father Joseph) Awad (the leading Phalange propagandist in the US).

According to a memorandum written by the director of publications of the American Zionist Council, Shulamith Schwartz, to Sharet on November 20, 1950, Awad in 1948 was aided by... the Jewish Agency and the American Zionist (Emergency) Council to proceed to Lebanon and 'spy out the land.'

Awad's purpose was to sound out Lebanese Christian opinion about a possible Lebanese-Zionist pact on non-belligerence or peace. On the basis of what he discovered during the following two years, he carried out an energetic campaign among Lebanese Americans against the Lebanese government of Riad al-Solh and in favour of the Phalange Party. As a result, Schwartz was able to report to Sharet in 1950 that "the great majority of Lebanese Americans are violently opposed to the present government of Lebanon..."

Lebanon's active entry into the Arab-Israeli war upon the establishment of the state changed the situation to the extent that contact with Israelis became treasonable, with Beirut's battlefield failures only increasing the likelihood that any of its citizens engaged in such contacts would be severely punished...

Contact between Israel and the Phalange seems to have been suspended during 1949. But it was renewed, with great vigour, towards the end of 1950... Following receipt of (a) memorandum (from Schwartz), encouraging contacts with the Phalange, Sharet wrote on November 21 to Walter Eytan, the ministry's director general... "this group is worthy of serious attention on our part. The picture drawn in this presentation -- the taking out of Lebanon from the pan-Arab circle and its affiliation with Israel -- is extremely heartwarming and opens the door to a far-reaching realignment in the whole structure of the Middle East..."

Schwartz had written that the Kataeb (the Arabic name of the Phalange) now numbered "40-60,000 members," "was organised on the model of the Hagana" and was "by its very nature a democratically based mass movement." (In fact, the Kataeb, founded in the 1930s, was modelled, if anything, on Europe's fascist parties.)...

(In 1950, Israeli counsellor to the UN Gideon Rafael reported that the Phalange wanted financial assistance for the election campaign of 1951 "which would be expensive in terms of bribes and vote-buying." Rafael recommended the allocation of IL5-10,000 [US\$25,000-50,000 at 1950 rates of exchange]. Eventually, only US\$3000 was given to the Phalange for the election campaign. The failure of the Phalange in the elections caused acute embarrassment in some Israeli circles.)

... It is unclear whether Israel renewed contact with, and funding of, the Phalange immediately after the 1951 election. But the Phalange was not to prove the stillborn entity (some Israeli politicians) had feared. Figuring prominently in Lebanese politics in the late 1950s and 1960s, it was propelled into power by Israel's invasion of June 1982...

In order to write this piece, I spent long hours with persons close to the intelligence community. A journalist is very strange to them, and I listened to frightening and fascinating stories, to painful outbursts and strong words. I sensed their deep frustration and anger. Why were they telling me all this? The oldest man present replied: "In an orderly state, such as Britain, we would have gone to see some senior figure in Whitehall. After a brief and secret investigation, some people would have been quietly retired and would have

gone to live in some modest mansion in the country. In the United States, *The Washington Post* would have got hold of the story, and after a public scandal and sharp attack, the president would make a personal appearance on TV and then go on to play golf. Behind the Iron Curtain some people would undoubtedly have been summarily stood up against a wall and shot. But here..." he said and sighed. "Believe me, we wrote memos, we shouted, we resigned, we warned, and it was just like pissing against the wind."

BOOKS BANNED IN THE WEST BANK

Al Fajr continues the list of books banned in the West Bank by the Israeli military authorities as published for the first time in cumulative form by the Israeli Defence Forces, September 20, 1982, under the title *Decrees, Orders and Stipulations: Order Regarding Hostile Propaganda*. The order is dated January 18, 1977 and is issued by Yehoshua Bar David, censor, who writes in the introduction: "Based on the authority granted to me in accordance with Article No 88(A) from Defence Regulations (State of Emergency) 1945 and Article 8 regarding the prohibition of works of hostile propaganda (Judea and Samaria) No 101 for the year 1967, and as I believe that the order is necessary for purposes of security and public order, I hereby issue the following order... It is prohibited to import or print or distribute the publications listed below this order. All orders regarding publications which were issued before the date of this order are repealed. The effective date of this order is January 26, 1976."



Mu'in Bseiso, co-author of *Beirut (A Poem)*, which was banned this week.

July 6 — The Israeli government banned eight more books authored by Arab writers.

These books, dealing mainly with political and literary issues, will not be allowed to circulate in the West Bank:

The Arabic Short Story in Occupied Palestine (1977-81) by Adel al-Usta;

The Struggle for Existence in the Quran and the Talmud by Dr. Abdul Sattar Fathallah Sa'id;

Beirut (A Poem) by Mahmoud Darwish and Mu'in Bseiso;

I Sing to My Beloved by Fouad Al Ghammas;

Studies in International Problems by Ahmad Ibrahim al Shibli;

The Psalms by Fathi Salameh;

Civilian Testimonies by Enemy Soldiers and Officers by Badr Abdul Haq;

A Critical Study of the Arabic Political Play by Ahmad Mohammed Atiyeh.

The Weapons of the Israeli Army
Israeli Occupation and the Palestinian Resistance
Islam and the Old Philosophies
Settlement by the Geneva Conventions and UN Resolution 242
Work and Workers in the Palestinian Camp
Palestinians in Kuwait
Mad House
Teaching the Palestinian Problem and Reality
Palestine, Israel and Islam
Philosophy of Education for the Palestinian People
Zionist Literature
World Jewry, Zionism and Israel
The Culture of Resistance in Occupied Palestine 1948 - 1967
Palestinian Resistance Literature Under Occupation 1948 - 1967
Um Said
Lectures in Islamic Education

A Window to the Future
Contemporary Poetry -- Between Ideology and Practice
War and Civilisation
Leila Has No Lovers
The Geography of the Muslim World

Israeli Army Command 1960 - 1981
Khamis Shall Die First
Theatre in the Arab World

The Invading Jews -- If You Shall Return, We Shall Return
The Palestinian People -- A Jewish Book
The Burning of Al-Aqsa Mosque
Firings -- Abdullah and His Days
I Confess, I Am the Witness and the Stabbed
Bleeding Jerusalem
July Wheat
Jerusalem -- A Legal Study
A Survey of the Ba'ath (sic) Party Struggle (In English)
Iraqi Army's Role in October 1973
Three Marks in the Palestinian Novel
Abu al-Abed in Zaif Castle
Neglected and Forgotten Pages in the Course of the Palestinian Cause and Resistance Movement
Ba'ath and the Palestinian Cause Part II, 1949 - 1964
Ba'ath and the Palestinian Cause Part IV, 1959 - 1964
Arab Politics
For the Sake of the Ba'ath
the Starting Point -- Talks After June 5
The Ba'ath and Unity
Organisation in Party Development
The Jew in Arab History
Arab Unity is Coming From the Nile to the Niger
The June Grief
The Israeli Air Force
The Danger, the Creed and the Fighter
Issue No. 1, January 1970
Distinguishing Aircraft, No. 7, Dec. 1970

The Water Problem in Israel and Its Repercussions on the Arab-Israeli Conflict
Colonial Settlements in the Israeli Occupied Territories 1967 - 1980
Settlements
Problems of Arab Diplomacy
The Other Homeland
The Anger
The Human Side In Modern Arab Poetry
The Islamic Movement in Iran
On The Way of Revolution
Lebanon on the Way to the Future
Literature of Resistance

Hisham Abdullah
 Iz al-Din Fuda
 Anwar al-Jundi

Othan al-Omari
 Hani Mendes
 Bilal al-Husseini
 Tawfiq Zayyad

Nazih Qadura
 Fayeze Sayegh

Department of Planning
 Ghassan Kanafani
 Kamil Mansour and Others

Ghassan Kanafani

Ghassan Kanafani
 Ghassan Kanafani

Salim al-Hoss

Hashim Yaghi
 Bassam al-Asali
 Shawki Baghdadi
 Salah al-Din al-Shami and
 Zein al-Din Abd al-Masoud
 Riyad al-Ashqar
 Ali Zein al-Abdeen
 Ali al-Ra'i

Mohammad Sbieh
 Trans. Elias Murkus
 Mithal Ghaib

Mohammad al-Qaisi
 Munther Amer
 Ahmad Abbas
 Fuad Khishn
 Prince Hussein Ben Talal

Farouq Wadi
 Salman Natour

Mohammad Izzeh Darwaza

Michael A'flaq
 Michael A'flaq

Michael A'flaq
 Michael A'flaq
 The Ba'ath Communist Party
 Ahmad Susa

Arnold Toynbee
 Suleiman Fayyad
 Riyad al-Ashqar

Ahmad Ali Ibrahim

Subhi Kahlel

Walid al-Ja'fari
 Abd al-Rahman Abu Arfeh
 Butrus Butrus Ghali
 Salah Hashem
 Zakaria Tamer
 Mufid Qamiha

Ragheed al-Sulh
 Ghali Shukry

Beirut PLO
 Beirut PLO
 Beirut Dar al-Aytam

Beirut PLO
 Beirut PLO
 Beirut PLO
 Beirut Arab Studies Organisation

Beirut PLO
 Beirut PLO

Beirut PLO
 Beirut PLO
 Beirut PLO

Beirut Dar al-Adab

Beirut Dar al-Adab
 Beirut Dar al-Adab
 Department of Counselling -- The Jordanian Arab Army
 Beirut Dar al-Ilm Lilmlayin

Beirut Arab Studies Organisation
 Beirut Arab Studies Organisation
 Beirut Dar al-Kalima

Alexandria Al-Ma'a'rif Establishment
 Beirut Palestine Studies Organisation
 Iraq Ministry of Information Pamphlets
 Kuwait National Council for Education, Arts and Culture

Egypt Youth Bookstore
 Beirut Dar al-Haqiqah
 Sidon/Beirut The Modern Bookstore
 Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
 Beirut Dar al-Hadatha
 Oriental Advertising Company
 Cairo Dar al-Ma'a'rif
 Amman Longmans

The Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party
 The Arab Centre for Strategic Studies
 Beirut Arab Studies Organisation
 Lebanon Dar Imasir

Sidon Lebanon Modern Bookstore

Beirut Dar al-Talia

Beirut Dar al-Talia
 Beirut Dar al-Talia
 Beirut Dar al-Talia

Beirut Arab Studies Organisation
 Arab Studies Organisation
 Beirut Dar al-Talia
 Damascus Dar al-Arabi

Beirut Dar al-Adab
 Beirut Dar al-Adab
 Beirut Palestine Studies Organisation

Department of Moral Guidance
 to the Armed Forces

Beirut Institute for Palestine Studies

Beirut Institute for Palestine Studies
 Amman Dar al-Jalil
 Egypt The New Bookstore
 Beirut Dar al-Afaq al-Jadeeda
 Beirut Dar al-Fata al-Arabi
 Beirut Dar al-Afaq al-Jadeeda

Beirut Dar al-Islamia
 Beirut Dar al-Talia
 Beirut Dar al-Afaq

PALESTINE AND LITERATURE

"Ali the Galilean" The 'Israelisation' of Arabs As Tragi-comedy

by Hanna Assidi

The latest Hakawati play, *Ali the Galilean* which had its first performance at the Tel Aviv Palestinian Arts Festival, last month, is both a dramatic story and a presentation of the group's theory of theatre. As usual, it is full of energy and entertainment.

The story of Ali, a young Palestinian from the Galilee, and his transformation into 'Eli' — an Arab worker in central Tel Aviv — is told twice, in each half of the play. The first section consists of a series of skits in dramatic styles culled from Arab and western TV programmes and the local theatre movement. The second is the Hakawati version of the same story. The two are brought together by the device of making the whole play an evening dedicated to Ali and his heroic life with a truly obnoxious and pretensions MC making sure no one has a good time.

Ali leaves home after high drama in the Islamic-religious style after objections to the division of the family wealth — eventually having had enough of his father's domineering control, according to Hakawati. He arrives in Tel Aviv poverty-stricken and falls in with a group of petty criminals running a hash-dealing and extortion racket from their *falafel* stand — they are portrayed in the first half as roughneck cowboys. His relationships with the various individuals who frequent the street around the stand where he sells *falafel* make up the body of the play until he is suddenly arrested, presumably in a round up of Arabs after a bomb explosion, tortured and jailed. The first half ends with a super-nationalist group showing Ali bravely withstanding dismemberment at the hands of his torturers.

The second ends with a bizarre scene where Professor Efestein, an expert

in 'Arab-Israelology', tries to put together a shattered Ali-Eli, into an upstanding example of an Arab citizen of the Jewish state. His failure is abrupt and the scene collapses to an end.

As we are in fact at an evening dedicated to Ali the hero, we know already that the whole experience — ending in "the jails and hospitals of the occupation" — turns Ali into an anti-social cynic, happy only when disrupting the entertainment in his honour and fitting neither in Arab society which spawned him nor the Israeli underworld he tried to adopt. As per usual with the Hakawatis, despite a somewhat optimistic closing sentence, the overall effect is rather depressing.

Ali the Galilean marks a departure from the pantomime style of their last two productions. In the second part we see a somewhat cowed and shy Ali grappling with his transformation into a brash Tel Aviv hustler, rapidly taking on board an appreciation for the 'finer things' of western culture — sex, the Rolling Stones and Bob Dylan — bemused by the bizarre antics of Israelis, without losing the humanity a village upbringing has given him — no matter how he tries. Edward Mo'allim, who plays Ali, is at his best here. The rest of the cast also excel in some of the cameos depicting street life. Shirley, a brash, racist US Jew, who takes home 130 *falafel* sandwiches deep-frozen on El Al as presents for relatives and friends, is particularly good, as is the old woman selling second-hand clothes and shelling out protection money to Ali's bosses, and Abu Saleh, a West Banker who speaks his minimal Hebrew to everyone in Tel Aviv, even Ali.

The Hakawatis pull their punches

stained chicken howled from a hidden tape recorder: "Begin! Begin!" Nearby, behind a fence, stood a bandaged, legless boy, wearing the striped uniform of the concentration camps. Opposite stood a wheelchair, on which 'sat' one single leg, draped in an army shirt. In the background, specially printed posters were



A scene from *Ali the Galilean*; 'Ali/Eli' behind his *falafel* stand. (El-Hakawati photo)

The Hakawatis make up for inadequacies with the speed, knockabout humour and enormous energy of their performances.

In the end, however, Ali-Eli's rapidly splitting personality is never fully explored. His mother's appearance in Tel Aviv, to persuade him back to the village, family and the marriage arranged for him, comes after his erstwhile friends beat him up in an argument over a woman, and sets the scene for a serious resolution of the conflict. Instead there is the explosion, fantasy torture and the laboratory of Arab-Israelology. This is a pity, especially as the ending is none too strong anyway.

There is a technical problem with the play also. In its first venture into portraying Israelis as something other than soldiers and colonial administrators, the troupe has added Hebrew to its list of working languages. Now operating in Arabic, Hebrew and English, they would appear to be restricting their audience somewhat. Handing out resumes of the action (only in Hebrew in Tel Aviv) is not the answer. If they are going to move into serious drama, giving an

audience a blow-by-blow interpretation of what's going on before their eyes must distort perception. In fact, subtitled film is the only solution I can think of, but that's another kettle of fish.

Nonetheless, the Hakawatis being the Hakawatis, they make up for inadequacies with the speed, knockabout humour and enormous energy of their performances. Whatever else, after an evening with the Hakawatis you go away entertained. Even if it takes three hours (from 10:00 pm to 1:00 am the night I saw it); probably a trifle long.

No review should end without a word of praise for the sets and costumes. After the richness and complexity of *1001 Nights of a Stone Thrower* they are more simple. Designer Jackie Lubeck manages to curb her surrealistic streak enough to make everything look normal, but they add a dimension to the action. Eli's silver lame shorts speak volumes by themselves.

which were all taken off. Daniel Haber, one of the initiators of this unique piece, then added a note to it expressing sorrow at being forced to censor his work.

The crowds still gathered. "Go to Russia!" cried some. "What does it all mean?" wondered a confused young man. An old man came to his aid: "This means that the human condition today is a holocaust."

"Many expressed support," said Daniel Haber, "and many contempt. Everybody was shocked. It was bound to happen, since on principle democracy can allow only art which draws no reaction. When art is too direct, the 'strong hand' appears not only in the colony but in the metropolis as well. Not only Palestinian art is being censored."

Asked why they went to all the trouble of setting up the exhibit if they knew it would be censored in advance, Daniel commented: "I am not an artist. This was an intervention in art, to expose its limits. Those limits exist where art stops being a decadent, sterile thing, which reproduces the relation between passive voyeurs and their commodities. Art is a substitute and an illusion. I protested against art just as I protested against the war."

Shocking the living-room ideology: CENSORED ART IN TEL AVIV

by Ido Amin

past up in rows heralding the motto of Nazi Auschwitz: "Arbeit macht Frei," (work liberates) and "1984." On this, spray-painted slogans declared "Who killed Emile?" (Greenzweig, a peace activist who died in a grenade attack on a demonstration last year) and "PLO Go Home!"

As the exhibition opened, a crowd gathered around the booth. This continued for the whole week. When hot arguments came close to street brawls, the Artists' Union rushed to intervene. Ms Etty Lev, the show manager, claimed she had been misled by the four artists, who did not foretell her the nature of their exposition. The chairman of the

Later, the shirt was taken off the work and out of the exhibition premises, the police confiscated it and took the ID number of one of the artists. Still later, a high-ranking police officer threatened arrest unless the tape recorder was silenced. The artists' belief that howls of "Begin! Begin!" have reverse meaning once shown in combination with invalids.

Artists from other booths, once they heard about the union's intentions, threatened to close down their own shows in solidarity. Confronted with a bigger scandal, the union agreed to a deal: the show went on, except for the tape recorder, the military shirt, the concentration camp uniform, and shoes

Both art and watermelons are favorite entertainment for a hot summer night for the Tel Aviv public, or so it would seem at the conclusion, a few days ago, of the Annual Week of Art and Sculpture, which was held in the Municipality Square in Tel Aviv. Under the management of the municipality and Artists' Union, a fair-like exhibition was organised, each artist in a separate booth exposing his or her inner richness. It was a run-of-the-mill exhibition: once again, patriotic-realism-style landscapes, impressionistic abstracts, still-lives, etc., which still survive by virtue of art schools alone, and other banal highlights. Others, more ambitious or updated, exhibited framed colourful reactions to current politics (mainly the war) — intended, perhaps, for the more sophisticated living rooms.

The crowds passed from one painting to the next, looking for one to fit their upholstery in the living room, or for a new, fitting ideology. But all spent more time than planned near a booth which had nothing frameable to offer.

In the booth of Daniel Haber, Hani Hame'agel, Albert Masri and Bernard Wittenberg, stood a huge man/horse with a skull face, his metal intestines spilling out, tied to a cart on which a washing machine with a blood-

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



In pre-Id al-Fitr issues the papers concentrated almost exclusively on the Israeli authorities' decision to dissolve the Hebron municipal council and construct a Jewish quarter in the heart of the town. Reports of increased military resistance against the Israeli forces in South Lebanon and the latest political developments in the Beqa'a conflict between the supporters of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and the dissidents were also well covered.

Al Fajr newspaper interviewed Mariam Maragha, from Silwan, the mother of Abu Musa, the leader of the Beqa'a oppositionists. Mariam Maragha called upon Yasir Arafat and her son to unite.

Al Fajr and Al Shaab took a three-day, and Al Quds a two-day break, for the occasion of Id al-Fitr. In an unprecedented step, Al Fajr refused to publish the usual paid announcements of congratulation because of prevailing political conditions in the West Bank.

Editorials censored from four Arabic daily newspapers this week:

AL FAJR July 9
AL FAJR July 10
AL SHAAB July 10

The Right Direction

The agreement reached in Damascus yesterday, reinforcing the ceasefire in the Beqa'a, and denouncing the use of force, is a very encouraging, bold step on the road to finding a viable solution to the conflict within Fatah ranks.

It also helps to quash the spate of rumours and misleading reports that have been circulating recently, spawned by Arab and foreign media.

We are absolutely certain that none of the two combatants ever planned to use force, in cold blood, to resolve their differences, an act that would serve only the interests of the enemies of the Palestinian people, by splitting the PLO wide open.

Since the very first days of clashes, the Fatah leadership tried to pour oil on the troubled waters in the Beqa'a, and avoid encouraging armed confrontation among companions sharing the same trench.

The leaders of the dissidents now have a golden opportunity to turn the tables on the conspirators and put an end to the conflict.

AL FAJR
July 6

Hands Off Hebron!

Peace Now knows what it

is talking about when it warns the Israeli government against following the Kiryat Arba piers. That same government has so far been unable to make headway in its investigation of the assassination attempts on dismissed mayors Shaka'a, Khalaf, and Tawil.

And the deposed acting mayor of Hebron, Mustafa Natsh, hit the nail on the head when he attributed all current ills to the excesses, deprivations, and provocations of the Israeli settlers.

We categorically denounce the wanton acts of savagery perpetrated by the racist settlers, which culminated in yesterday's murder of a 1' onite. At the same time, we urge all sensible people in Israel to raise their voices against the schemes of Gush Emunim.

Take your hands off Hebron, Gush Emunim!!

And lift the curfew on Hebron, military authorities, so that the citizens may enjoy the Id al-Fitr festivities in peace and tranquility.

AL ITTIHAD
July 7

Stop These Necktie Parties!

There was a time, in the old South of the United States, when all that was required to stage a 'necktie party' was for a white girl to scream in the middle of the street that a Negro had tried to rape her. Within seconds, a lynch mob would have been organised; and they would set upon the first Negro they saw and string him up to the nearest tree.

The Nazis were quick to see the practicality of the lynch mob, to rid themselves of Jews and communists. And in the

McCarthy era lynch law ran full circle in the good ol' US of A.

And now, Israel boasts its own lynch mob — witness the latest upheaval in the ranks of Kiryat Arba settlers following the fatal stabbing of a Jewish youth.

The youth had been left to bleed to death, and the irate settlers organised a lynch mob against Hebronites, wrecking and burning properties, but security forces prevented them from causing further mayhem. How did they manage to do that? By promptly firing acting mayor Mustafa Natsh and the town council, and thus appeasing settler sentiment, just as they had done so often before (for instance, when Fahed Qawassmeh and Mohammed Milhem were offered as sacrifices).

Several voices have been raised against the lynch mobs here in Israel, but these seem to have been drowned by statements made by senior government officials bent on fanning the flames of fanaticism.

It is time, before it is too late, for all sensible Jews and Arabs to realise that we face a common enemy: the Israeli occupation is not only the enemy of the Arabs, but of the Jewish people as well.

We must close ranks and form a united front against the lynch mobs.

And the Israeli government must rescind its orders dismissing the town council of Hebron, and lift the curfew on the city. The least it can do is respect the feelings and rights of our tortured people on the eve of the Id.

AL ITTIHAD
July 9

A Future Id...

"There will be another feast, filled with joy and sun-

shine, a day of celebration, free of turmoil, a day that will herald the birth of our independence."

These are the words with which we would regale the only ones for whom the feast has any special significance: our children, the inheritors of our grief, our distress, and of the black clouds that hide our day.

There will be another feast, when the flag of our free, independent state will flutter openly in the refreshing breeze. It will be the day we finally accomplish the miracle, after the long years of suffering, deprivation and persecution.

Our children inherit from us the three-fold secret of our strength: trust, patience, and steadfastness. It is this secret strength that will enable us to cross to the other shore, the shore of freedom and national independence.

On this occasion, we shall not forget our martyrs — the innocent little babes of Sabra and Shatila. We shall remember our people who are enduring all sorts of hardship, wherever they may be.

And we raise our voice in denunciation against all those who want to impose their will, their 'trusteeship' upon us. And we call upon our scattered people to unite and stand firm.

There will be another feast, and another joy.

AL SHA'AB
July 11

'Weapons' for The Feast

A feast is supposed to provide a timely breathing space for the people and its leaders, giving them an opportunity to review their future plans and

reassess their achievements.

Even a cursory examination will reveal that we are surrounded by a sea of hostility, with conspirators falling over each other in their drive to dismember the Palestinian people. And the dangers that lurk within our ranks are perhaps more insidious than those from outside.

The only weapons at our disposal are national unity, alertness and the independence of thought and decision-making.

Those weapons, unfortunately, are quite hard to get at and that makes the job of the conspirators much easier: they can plan and plot, undeterred, to their hearts' content.

Had Palestinians been apt pupils, they would have learned their lessons well — but they haven't. No sooner had they been subjected to one pogrom, then another was awaiting them.

But we reassure all those who have used the Palestine cause to feather their nests, or advance their dubious interests, that they will not escape the flames. Sooner or later, the conflagration will lay them waste.

How long, then, will the Arabs remain silent? How long will they try to hide from the truth?

Who is the ultimate beneficiary of the rift in our ranks?

Who expects to reap the greatest benefits from the liquidation of our cause?

Who is the only loser?

Is there no other alternative to resolving our differences, other than shedding each other's blood?

AL QUDS
July 11

DIASPORA RAMALLANS MEET IN US

The 25th annual convention of the Ramallah Federation was held in Dearborne, Michigan, July 5-9, with more than 3000 Ramallans, now resident in the US, attending. The convention received messages from among others PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, and the elected mayor of Ramallah, Karim Khalaf. US President Ronald Reagan also sent a message of greeting to the conveneers, most of whom are small businessmen.

In Arafat's message, the PLO chairman saluted the convention as a necessary means to preserve the identity and heritage of the Palestinian community in the USA. "The struggle of our people against the Zionist forces and their supporters is enriched and fortified by your contributions to the steadfastness of our people in the occupied territories, and in particular in your great city, Ramallah, so that it remains Palestinian as it has always been, and an example of steadfastness and heroic resistance against the Israeli colonialist occupiers."

Arafat expressed confidence to the convention attendees that the Palestinian people are able to foil all plans and attempts to bypass or ignore their rights.

The Ramallah Federation sent a message of reply to Arafat in which they stressed the need to resolve differences in a democratic manner. "We deplore the use of violence to resolve matters within the PLO structure." The letter, which was signed by Audie Dudum, president of the Federation, affirmed support for Arafat's leadership and condemned outside interference in the internal decision-making of the PLO.

Karim Khalaf, the elected mayor of Ramallah, who was deposed by the Israeli authorities 16 months ago for refusing to deal with the 'civil administration', apologised for not being able to accept their invitation to attend because of the 'de facto house arrest' he has been put under in Jericho. Khalaf has been exiled from his Ramallah home since his dismissal. The mayor praised the achievements and contributions of the Ramallah Federation as having a great effect on the steadfastness of the people. "Your support has been our great and sustaining force in our darkest days," he stated in his message. Speaking in the name of the elected municipal council and for himself, Khalaf saluted the attendees, and wished them success.

US President Reagan, in an unusual attempt to win supporters among the Arab-American community, sent a message appealing to the Ramallah Federation to help him in carrying out his Middle East Plan. He used excerpts from his September 1 initiative, which has been categorically rejected by the PLO, urging that all parties in the Middle East conflict show flexibility. "I hope you will join me in the effort to attain a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East," he reiterated.

The Ramallah Federation has 22,000 members of first and second generation Palestinian immigrants to the US from Ramallah, Palestine. It is the largest Arab-American organisation in the US.

The four-day convention resembles a large family reunion, as former residents of the 80,000 population city and their families gather to renew ties. The convention's programme usually includes Palestinian dancing, songs, and food. While it is primarily a social club, there has been some attempt in the last several years, since the car bomb assassination attempt against Khalaf, to politicise its members.



Deposed mayor of Ramallah Karim Khalaf

Colonial Law

continued from page 16

Since we have become in the last few years a religious national plebsite, public opinion is less and less sensitive to the rights of Arabs who live within the 'green line' (1948 borders), and even less sensitive to those who live outside the 'green line'.

The existing policy is developing toward the principles of the chosen people, the promised land, and "the land which is ours alone." According to these principles, the Arabs are foreign invaders. The mystical nationalism gives a free hand to the government to openly increase its violations against the Arabs. We see the basic principles of the policy of the existing government, which were approved by the Knesset on August 5, 1981, in which the existence and the rights of the minority were not even mentioned.

This document can be characterised by a few phenomena, which I should compare with the basic principles of the first government. The "state of Israel" expression is replaced by "Eretz Israel", which means that the political, juridical and sovereign concepts do not exist anymore. "Eretz Israel" does not exist according to international law as a political unit, but only as a geographical, historical, religious and literary expression. In the seventh article of this law, which deals with Camp David, it says that an autonomy arrangement would guarantee that a Palestinian state would never be established in the territory of eastern Eretz Israel (referring to the West Bank - ed.); and in Article 8, we find the main addition: "With the conclusion of the transition period (of five years of autonomy - ed), which was decided in the Camp David agreements, Israel will demand to practice its sovereignty over Judea, Samaria and the Gaza

Strip."

As we know, the government has already started to practice this right by building more settlements, confiscating land, and developing and expanding the settlements, and so on. It is interesting to note how this government, which wants to annex territories with their population, a government which rules over 600,000 Israeli Arabs within the borders of the 'green line' - how this government relates to the citizens' rights of this people and to their culture and status. The culture and language of the Arabs are not mentioned at all. There is only one cynical and humiliating article. Article 10 states: "In Eretz Israel, equality for all citizens without distinction based on religion, race, nationality, sex or ethnicity will continue to exist."

The words "Eretz Israel" and "continue to exist" are false declarations and lies. And the most dangerous thing is that these words are sold to the public and to school children openly - just

like very well-known regimes which use the psychology of the masses. And those who want a change and who demand an end to the existing discrimination in Israel based on religion, race, sex and political opinions, and who ask for the protection of human rights, are condemned as traitors by the government and its supporters in the city squares.

The number of schools in which the Declaration of Independence is taught is decreasing. Since 1958, the education ministry in Israel has not published the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is important to keep in mind that Israelis do not have any legal model against which to check what is right and wrong.

In Israel, in which a population without a democratic tradition has gathered, it is easy to brainwash and to convince people that democracy is what the majority in the Knesset vote for, a

majority which does not even represent the will of most of the people, because of the coalition structure. We live in Israel under the despotism of a coalition majority without any check and balance system, without basic principles, but with a lot of emergency laws, fears and traumas, aloof messiahs and religious and national fanaticism.

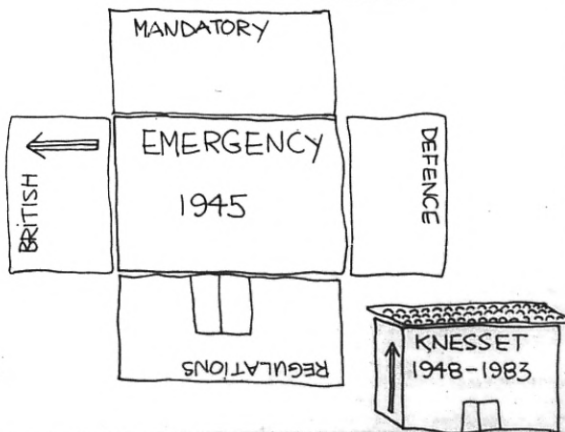
It is our duty to use the freedom of the press and of expression, which still exists thanks to the High Court decisions, the right to get politically organised, and to appear in public and to explain and discuss issues, in order to change the direction of the government's actions, the legislation and propaganda which serves anti-democratic perceptions. Our obligation is to inform public opinion (which is very important for the regime) about what is really happening, in order to prevent a greater decline.

Art

continued from page 6

either the nature of art or politics which actually precludes a mutual relationship. Neither has easily definable boundaries. However, the partnership between the two risks failure if closed boundaries are to be drawn arbitrarily.

What I have seen in recent exhibitions at Bir Zeit University has not been very revolutionary, either in terms of art or politics. The politics have invariably been superficially expressed, and the art has been misused. But, there have been encouraging pockets of resistance to tradition and to this arbitrary drawing of boundaries. This should be encouraged. Artists must be allowed a greater range of freedom (at least as much as it is in society's power to allow) in which to exercise their abilities and to achieve excellence. They must be allowed to challenge traditions if necessary, because conservatism and the dynamism of cultural growth are incompatible.



EXAMINATION REVIEWED

NABLUS — A top-level delegation, representing major West Bank institutions of learning, returned from Amman after holding talks with Jordanian officials on the controversial comprehensive examinations.

Delegation members said their mission had been successful, and they had elicited a pledge from the Jordanians to consider shelving the examination for a period of three years, prior to its cancellation. The final Jordanian decision is expected to be announced within the next few days.

EMMANUEL BEGINS

JERUSALEM — The newly established ultra-religious Israeli settlement, Emmanuel, in the West Bank, is gearing up to receive its first inhabitants. The first group of settlers comprises 400 families — 25 percent from the US and Europe. Within the course of the year, another 600 families are expected to arrive at Emmanuel. Israeli authorities hope to station 30,000 settlers in the settlement in the next four years.

FACT FINDING

GAZA — A special fact-finding committee, formed to probe recent campus violence at the Islamic University of Gaza, held its first meeting chaired by Sheikh Mohammed Awwad, president of the *shari'a* (Islamic law) court and dean of the Azhar Religious Institute. The committee has asked for a full report from the president of the Islamic University and for workers suspended in the wake of the recent disturbances to submit reports in their defence.

The committee will convene its second meeting after the Muslim feast of Id al-Fitr.

LAND GRAB

JENIN — Landowners from Jenin and the nearby villages of Deir Abu Da'if and Qabatiya will petition the High Court in a bid to stop Israeli encroachment on their property.

They said the Israeli authorities have begun laying a new road leading to a nearby Jewish settlement on land belonging to them.

They are also protesting plans to install electricity pylons on their land.

AMNESTY FOR PRISONERS

GAZA — The Israeli military authorities have granted amnesty to 24 Gazan prisoners, on the occasion of the Muslim feast of Id al-Fitr. The military government has also reduced the sentences of 16 others. Most such amnesties are given to criminal rather than political prisoners.

Some 122 former residents

WEEKLY REVIEW

July 10 and 11 are not covered below in the translations of news briefs from the Arabic press as newspapers in the West Bank were closed during observances of Id al-Fitr.

of the Gaza Strip have also been given permission to return home in the 'family reunion' scheme.

NEW ACADEMIC JOURNAL

NABLUS — Al-Najah University's research and documentation centre issued the first copy of a journal devoted to scientific studies and research.

It is the first of its kind in the West Bank.

GRAB MOVE DELAYED

RAMALLAH — The Military Objections Committee suspended a decision on the expropriation of land owned by villagers in Bil'in, in the Ramallah district, until October 3.

July 7, 1983

LEGAL REPRIMAND

JENIN — The Israeli govern-

ment's legal advisor for the West Bank has admitted that a military official had behaved "inappropriately" and acted "inhumanely" during a recent incident involving an Arab lawyer from Jenin.

The lawyer, Yousef Zaki Aridi, had been summoned to the office of the Jenin military governor for interrogation, and during the course of questioning he was repeatedly insulted.

The investigating officer threatened to punish Aridi for his "impudence."

TOURISM MOVES EAST

JERUSALEM — Israel's minister of tourism, Avraham Sharir, is appealing to Prime Minister Menachem Begin for approval to move his offices to the new government quarters in the Sheikh Jarrah suburb of East Jerusalem from West Jerusalem.

PRISON PROBLEMS

JERUSALEM — Ramle prison

administrator David Percy charged that the Israeli prison commissioner ignored several warnings he had sent him about the prison's inadequacy. He claimed the recent protests inside Ramle were sparked by the intolerable conditions in the jail.

CUTS IN GAZA

GAZA — Residents of several Gaza quarters complain that the authorities are doing absolutely nothing to ease the recurrent water shortages and power cuts plaguing the city. Several sections of the city have been without electricity for nearly a fortnight now.

decreed banning the entry of their paycheques from Amman.

Usually, UNRWA pays its employees in the West Bank in Jordanian dinars, deposited in banks in Amman.

Until quite recently, West Bank delegates would travel to the Jordanian capital to collect the cheques and bring them back to the West Bank. But Israel recently banned bringing in any money from outside, including salaries.

WOMEN PRISONERS STRIKING

JERUSALEM — The strike by Palestinian women imprisoned at the Israeli Neve Tirtza (Ramle) jail entered its second month.

The strikers are being confined to their cells all day, except

for a one hour break. They are denied hot water facilities. No visitors are allowed and radio, TV and newspapers are banned.

Even personal belongings, such as hair clips, have been confiscated.

Prison authorities claim the prisoners do not want to see their relatives — a form of psychological warfare being exercised by the Israelis to break the strike.

July 8, 1983

JUDAISATION OF HEBRON

HEBRON — The only way Israel can prevent a recurrence of hostile Arab activities, like the murder late last week of a settler, would be to ensure a Jewish majority in the city, according to Yuval Ne'eman, Israel's minister of science and development, who is acting chairman of the Ministerial Committee on Settlement Affairs.

UNRWA PAY HOSTAGE

JERUSALEM — West Bank Arabs employed by UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees) are facing great financial hardship following the Israeli government

The country is now waging a war for 'Eretz Israel' (the land of Israel), and the Israeli army is duty-bound to participate in this war, he added.

He said he will take immediate steps to speed up Jewish settlement in Hebron.

Justice Minister Moshe Nissim added that no one can prevent Jews from settling in Hebron, and that the city's Jewish quarter would be developed in line with government plans.

SIGNIFICANT TIMING

JERUSALEM — The Knesset's Interior Committee decided to hold deliberations over the question of the government's expropriation of 30,000 dunums of Arab land in the Galilee to the Misgav regional council on July 10, the day set aside for the celebration of Id al-Fitr Muslim festivities, among the most momentous in the Muslim calendar.

MAYORS UNDER HOUSE ARREST

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military authorities have ordered the mayors of two West Bank villages not to leave their homes for the next two days.

The mayors of Silwad and Betunia, near Ramallah, were not given reasons for the ban.

PRISONER KILLED

JERUSALEM — A Palestinian prisoner in Beer Sheva prison was reported stabbed to death by another inmate. Neither has been identified.

DISCRIMINATORY FUNDS

JERUSALEM — The Labour Party issued a statement attacking the government's practice of discriminating against Arab students. It said it was unreasonable for the government to make funds available to yeshiva students who refuse army service, and deny them to Arabs who are not required to serve in the army.

FAMILY REUNION

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli authorities have approved applications for family reunion from some 37 people in Bethlehem.

PHONE

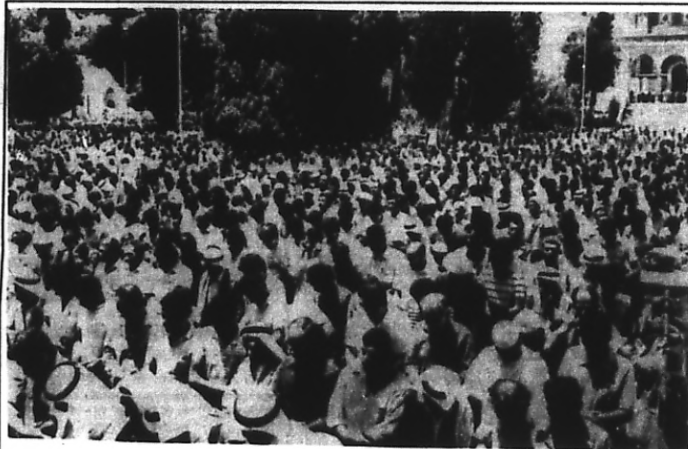
JERUSALEM — West Bank residents can now pick up their phones and dial Morocco direct, something unheard of just a few years ago.

Morocco has thus now become the second Arab country (after Egypt) with which Israel maintains telephone communication links.

July July 9, 1983

DHEISHEH CURFEW

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli military authorities have clamped down another curfew on the



Prayers at Al-Aqsa Mosque on the Last Friday of Ramadan. Tens of thousands attended./ Garo photo

BEIRUT STUDENTS STOPPED

NABLUS — West Bank Arab youths studying at the Arab University of Beirut have applied to the Israeli authorities for three-week travel permits to allow them to sit for their examinations in the Lebanese capital. The examinations are scheduled to start of July 18.

The students, who are all under 26 and thus eligible for travel abroad under Israel's laws for West Bank travel, said they had applied for their permits a long time ago, but received no reply.

Palestinian refugee camp of Dheishah, near Bethlehem. The curfew came into effect at dawn. The authorities gave no reason for their action.

NEW SCHOOL OPENS

JERUSALEM — Greek Orthodox Patriarch Diodoros I presided over the inauguration ceremony of a new secondary school in the Old City. The school will follow the Jordanian curriculum, as is usual with private schools in the West Bank. Classes will begin in two month's time.

NAZARETH DENOUNCES SETTLERS

NAZARETH — The Nazareth Democratic Front issued a statement denouncing the repressive measures employed by the Israeli military authorities against the city of Hebron.

The front condemned the ouster of acting Mayor Mustafa Natsheh and the town council, and charged Gush Emunim and settler gangs are imposing a reign of terror in the city, aided and abetted by the occupation authorities.

MANARA CLOSED

RAMALLAH — The Israeli occupation authorities cordoned off Ramallah's town centre following a bomb scare.

Troops sealed off the Manara area for an hour, under the pretext that they suspected a bomb had been placed there.

ELECTIONS INSIDE

NAZARETH — The Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth called on all its members and supporters to mobilise their forces in the forthcoming elections of local councils, to ensure a resounding victory for the peace movement.

The committee expressed its condemnation of the defence ministry's decree banning the participation of several Arab villages in the elections, terming it racist and discriminatory.

"This undemocratic measure will prevent some 40,000 Arabs from expressing their op-

inions and electing their own representatives," it said.

July 10, 1983

UM 'ABU MUSA'

JERUSALEM — The leader of

were to come face to face with Arafat and her son, she would say: "I'm ashamed of you. How could you allow a third party to stir you up against one another? How could you shed each other's blood? You must resolve all your differences peacefully, and become brothers again, just as



The class of 1983 during Bethlehem University commencement exercises, July 9 / Garo photo

the Fatah dissidents in the Lebanese Beqa'a, Abu Musa, is a staunch supporter of PLO chairman Yasir Arafat, and all claims to the contrary are a mere fabrication, according to Abu Musa's mother, Mariam Muragha, a Jerusalemite.

She said Syria was directly responsible for the rift between the two Palestinian leaders, but was confident it was only temporary.

Mariam said that if she

you always have been."

She revealed that during a recent visit to Damascus, she had brought back some family pictures of her son, but Syrian border officials ripped them to pieces.

She reassured Palestinians that there was nothing to worry about and that before long Arafat and Abu Musa would once more fight side by side.

MAGAZINES BANNED

TULKARM — The West Bank office of the educational branch of the military government issued a directive to all libraries in the West Bank, banning the stock-

ing of any magazine without permission of the authorities.

The directive said no magazine would be allowed inside school libraries, no matter where the place of publication, without prior authorisation from the education department.

INTO HEBRON'S HEART

HEBRON — Israel's minister for

housing and construction, David Levy, said the government will implement in full an earlier decision to develop the Jewish quarter of Hebron.

He said the blueprints and development plans now prepared call for a two-stage programme: dozens of Jewish families will be housed in the quarter during the current year, and within the next three years the government plans to put up housing units for about 500 others.

CURFEW OVER

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli military authorities lifted the curfew they imposed on Dheishah refugee camp, near Bethlehem.

Israeli authorities announced the camp was curfewed as a precautionary measure to forestall anti-occupation demonstrations following the Hebron violence last week. The Israeli Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University had planned a solidarity demonstration in the camp on the day the curfew was declared.

ID AL-FITR

JERUSALEM — Muslims in all parts of the West Bank began the three-day-long festivities of Id al-Fitr.

The feast marks the culmination of the holy month of Ramadan when Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset.

Festivities will be generally confined to religious ceremonies in most parts of the West Bank, in view of the political situation.

NEW BISHOP

BETHLEHEM — Mar Dionesius Benham Ya'coub Hajjawi was consecrated patriarchal deputy for the tiny Assyrian (Syriac) community of the Holy Land, in a ceremony attended by several West Bank mayors, VIPs and hundreds of worshippers.

Bishop Hajjawi had spent several years in Jerusalem's St. Mark's monastery (which featured prominently in the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, some 38 years ago), before moving to Baghdad.



Damascus Gate comes alive with market stalls and vendors as Jerusalemites celebrate Id al-Fitr/JN

continued from page 7

Tulkarm Unions

yards. Every year on Land Day, March 30, field work is organised. "Our main purpose in helping farmers," said Labadi, "is to encourage them to stay on their lands so that they do not become subject to Israeli confiscation."

Over 200 volunteers travelled to Barga, a neighbouring village, on July 2, and organised a comprehensive clean-up campaign. Barga, like most of the other villages, depends on voluntary workers for its public services.

Blood donation drives have become part of the committee's voluntary

work in the last 10 months. According to Imad, 40 units of blood have been provided free of charge by committee members to sick people who cannot afford to buy it.

Health Committee

The union has not been able to guarantee total health care for its members, but it has set up a medical relief committee of volunteer physicians. The union also contacted pharmacies in Tulkarm and Qalqilya, where it has a

branch, and negotiated a deal whereby they sell drugs to union members at reduced prices. The three-member rotating medical relief committee also organises daily visits to villages which have no medical facilities.

Working Women's Committee

Under the umbrella of the union, a working women's committee is active among 600 women working in 36 sewing factories in Tulkarm and Qalqilya.

Nadrin Ghabban, a member in the administrative body of the committee, told *Al-Fajr* that their role is to make regular visits to the factories and to

organise relations between the working women and the owners for problem solving.

The main achievement of the committee was to convince factory owners this year to make International Women's Day, March 8, a paid holiday. The 120 members of the women's committee also volunteer their help as paramedics with the medical relief committee, and gather donated medicine from the pharmacies.

Nadrin explains that one of the most important activities the committee sponsored was the assistance they gave poison victims this spring. The women stayed with the girl students in the local hospital and collected clothes for them.

The citizens and governments of Israel have always been proud of their democratic state. They praise its uniqueness vis-a-vis other countries in the Middle East. In the presence of a positive and satisfactory self-image, we have to ask ourselves, from where does the government get its legal authority for clear discrimination between its citizens, between the Jewish citizens of the state and other citizens? What are the bases for censorship of the press, theatre, television; for the closure of newspapers and prohibition of their distribution; administrative detention, the closing of geographical areas, collective punishment, and many other procedures which characterise a colonial regime and not a democratic regime?

The state of Israel, which has existed for thirty-five years, is a state with deep aspirations for democracy. This fact has been forgotten by many people and many others do not even know about it. In many sensitive aspects concerning human rights, Israel is administered by colonial laws which were enacted by the British regime for the rebellious natives of Palestine — Eretz Israel.

It is indispensable to mention here a few historical facts in order to understand the size of the danger which every day threatens the democracy in Israel. It threatens this democracy not through revolutionary acts or amendments to the law, but only via authorities given to the government — it is possible to destroy democracy in Israel by the automatic majority for the government in the Knesset. Moreover, it is even possible to do so without the support of the coalition majority and without even going through the Knesset.

When the state of Israel was established in May 1948, it was clear that within a short time there would be elections for the founding assembly whose task was to prepare a draft of a constitution in the spirit of the United Nations conventions and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. After establishing the constitution, the founding assembly would be dissolved and from that point on, the state would be administered by a new constitution. These facts were included in the Declaration of Independence in clear language which does not allow for alternative interpretation. (The Declaration of Independence and its principles is not a law, but is a collective statement of belief and a public proclamation for internal and international recognition of the establishment of a sovereign state, which is the state of Israel.)

There were elections in 1949 for the founding assembly, as mentioned in the Declaration of Independence. But, in order to prevent chaos until the assembly concluded its task, the temporary government 'in the name of order and legality from 1948' adopted in its official Paper No. 1 all the laws and orders which existed on the eve of the establishment of the state, but excluded all laws which opposed the idea of a Jewish state, such as the prohibition of Jewish immigration to the state and the purchase of land by Jews.

Permanent Transition

The attitude toward the adoption of these mandatory colonial laws was an attitude toward a transition period; the state had no choice then but to adopt them, even laws from the Ottoman regime which were adopted by the British. And here is the key point: all

the defence and emergency regulations which the British enacted against the Jewish organisations and against the rebels and the underground fighters, the Haganah, Etzel and Lehi, were the Emergency Defence Regulations from 1945. These regulations were condemned by all the leaders of the yeshuv (pre-state Jewish settlement — ed.) including Mr. Menachem Begin, the prime minister of Israel today; and they were labeled by them as 'Nazi laws.'

The founding assembly was elected in 1949 in democratic elections. As stated above, the assembly's first task was to prepare the constitution. The first elected government hinted about the nature of the future constitution in the basic principles of the government as they were presented in the Knesset on March 8, 1949, with confirmation of the majority on March 11, 1949.

In the second chapter of the basic principles, entitled *Freedom, Equality and Democracy*, the following was stated: "The law which will establish the

imposed and are valid today: the general, equal and free voting rights; and the financing of religious needs for Jews, including the Orthodox Jewish religious institutions. But all articles concerning full equal rights without distinction based on religion, race, nationality, sex and political adherence are not protected in the laws of the state of Israel. Israel is not a signatory to the International Convention for Civil and Political Rights of Citizens.

What really happened? The founding assembly elected in 1949 did not prepare the constitution and did not dissolve itself as it was supposed to do, but became instead a legislative assembly and parliament, is the Knesset.

Concerning its original task, it was stated that the assembly would prepare the constitution chapter by chapter in a framework of basic laws, and when their task was finished, Israel would have a

Colonial Law in Service To the Government



The Knesset: "The founding assembly elected in 1949 did not prepare the constitution and did not dissolve itself as it was supposed to do, but became instead a legislative assembly and parliament..."

We live in Israel under the despotism of a coalitional majority without any check and balance system, without basic principles, but with a lot of emergency laws, fears and traumas, aloof messiahs and religious and national fanaticism.

democratic, republican nature of the state of Israel will guarantee total equality of rights and duties for all citizens of Israel without distinction based on religion, race or nationality; the freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture will be ensured; full equality for women will be ensured; equality of rights and duties in the life of the state, the society and the economy, in all of the laws, will be ensured. The freedom to form unions and freedom of written and spoken expression will be ensured — for the security of the state, its liberty and independence, and for the rights of others. A free general election without discrimination on the basis of sex, religion, race and nationality and without any financial reservation will be held in all the state institutions. The state will support the public religious needs of its citizens, but will not interfere in religious affairs. Shabat and the holidays of Israel will be the permanent rest days in Israel; those who are not Jews will have the right to choose their Shabats and holidays in exchange as their rest days."

Out of all that was said and promised in the Declaration of Independence and the basic principles of the first government, only two laws were

constitution. Today, thirty-five years after the establishment of the state, we are still in the first stages of preparing a basic law of rights, after many previous failures. Without a constitution, the provisional situation continues, and the mandate laws are still valid, unless some articles or laws were amended or cancelled by the Knesset.

Laws which limit human freedom and enable the government to impose emergency regulations — including administrative detention, closing of areas, the obligation to quarter soldiers, restricted trials in which the accused does not know his charge, prohibiting newspaper publication and arbitrary censorship — especially in Arabic —, prohibiting demonstrations, the right to confiscate property and to destroy property, etc. — are still valid.

As long as the government has self-restraint and as long as public opinion will not tolerate arbitrary action, we can still play according to a democratic system. But when the government is sure that public opinion will not resist or that the public will not get the information, the government sees itself as free to act. Despite the fact that the

Jordanians, who ruled for nineteen years in the West Bank, had cancelled the mandate Emergency Regulations, the Israeli military administration, through legal sophistry, found a way to reimpose these regulations in these territories. In the 'administered territories' from 1967, these imposed regulations have become more severe, year after year. And lately they have become so severe that even the British would not have dared dream of such severity.

On October 29, 1982, the military authority declared ideological war on the people by punishing people not for what they do but for what they think. This order stated that the way to treat people will be as follows, "...to continue the struggle against the nationalists. This is an endless struggle and we should stick to it with devotion. We have to chase these groups unceasingly. We should not stop the pressure on them even after their removal from their positions... every governor... should decide who are his target people, and every staff officer should bring ideas about ways to deal with them... we should continue neutralising (the Jordanian groups) as much as possible, and bring them to maximum dependence on the administration... the manner of treatment should be the imposition of sanctions and expelling of damagers en masse, while giving maximum support to the positive activists: the staff officers should prepare suggestions to fulfil this document."

It is possible to cite many examples, such as exploding a house because next to it somebody threw a Molotov cocktail; collective punishment; humiliating people by forcing them to erect barriers and then to remove them.

In summary, all these regulations are colonialistic and brutal, and they have nothing in common with a correct legal system. But discriminatory laws are imposed not only against the population in the occupied territories. The Israeli Arab population, the citizens of Israel, who number 600,000 (like the number of the Jewish population on the day the state was established) — now 15 percent of the Israeli population — also receive "special treatment," and colonialistic regulations are imposed on them too. The most extreme example is the Knesset's new legislation which has clear discriminatory elements against the Arabs.

We have to keep in mind that despite the fact that we are all citizens of Israel, our identification cards indicate who is a Jew and who is a goy. On these identification cards, which every one over 16 years old must possess, the citizenship is not registered, but rather ethnic and religious affiliation, a carry-over from the Turkish "milla," which does not exist anywhere else in the world.

The discrimination is clear and sharp, registered by law from birth to death, in "the religious tribe," in living places, in the prohibition of land tenancy or purchase. More than 90 percent of the land in Israel is state land. The development and settlement of these lands are carried out by the Jewish Agency and Keren Kayemet; and in this way, the Arabs are a priori excluded. And the Arab citizens are also discriminated against in social legislation, in support for children, in national insurance, in the right to housing and education. Budgets are designed on a special basis in the interior ministry for Jewish settlements as opposed to Arab villages and cities. And the same holds true in education, health, and so on.

continued on page 13